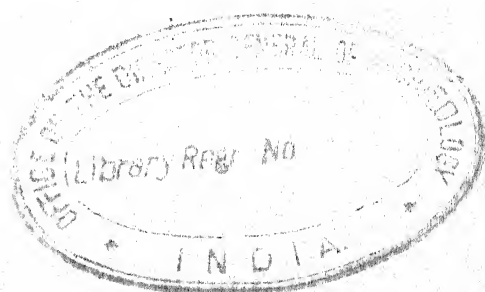
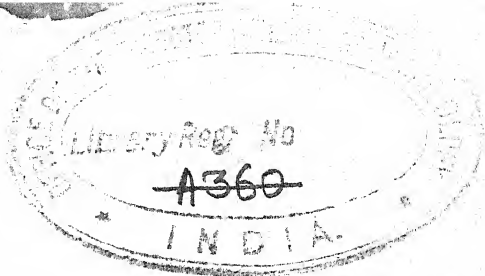


Journal of Oriental  
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Vol - I





## FOREWORD.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

I HAVE great pleasure in complying with the request of the editorial committee to write a few words by way of introduction to the "Journal of Oriental Research," Madras, which they are launching into existence. No justification is needed for the addition of a new periodical to the ranks of those devoted to the publication of the results of research in any field of investigation. The main conditions which decide its right to existence are whether its contents afford evidence of genuine scholarship and sound reasoning and possess sufficient originality. The time was, not long ago, when it used to be a standing and legitimate ground of complaint with the critics of our Universities and educational systems that they had failed to produce the taste or the capacity for original research, that the contribution of Indians to modern knowledge was scanty and that Indians had not learnt to take interest in the history and culture of their own country. The pioneers in the field of Oriental investigation were European scholars and some of them were men in the service of the Government, who devoted their snatches of leisure from administrative duties to the study of Oriental languages and literatures and the customs and institutions of the people of the country. Not that there were no Indians at all during those early years who cared for scholarly studies. Names like Sir Ramakrishna G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra and others readily occur to one's mind, but these scholars were exceptional. For ages past the Hindus were notoriously indifferent to the value of history and the claims

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of historical studies. It required several decades of western education and contact with western thought before the Indian mind could realise the value of history and of independent research.

But a welcome change has come about within the last twenty years, during which the spirit of the Indian renaissance has manifested itself in various spheres of intellectual activity and has produced a considerable body of scholars acquainted with the Western methods of research and alive to the need for investigation in many fields, which had been previously left to the furrow of the European scholar. There has been a reawakening of curiosity in the minds of educated Indians in the past history of India and a keener appreciation of the heritage of Indian culture. The scholarly editing of unpublished works, the starting of new periodicals for publishing the results of research and the holding of annual conferences for the exchange and discussion of views among scholars bear witness to the intellectual revival to which I have referred. Some of the learned societies and the older Universities have realised the need for magazines of their own in which the results of the researches of their members could be published. It is not a day too soon that the promoters of this journal should have thought of starting a journal for the communication of the results of Oriental scholarship in this part of the country.

The Madras branch of the Royal Asiatic Society used to publish a quarterly journal at one time under the editorship of Dr. G. Oppert, a former professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College. But, owing to want of support, the journal languished and died about 40 years ago. Thanks to the foundation of a system of research studentships by the Madras University and the more intensive scheme of studies which has been introduced for the Honours examinations and the influence of Mr. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, the professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, who combines in himself the profundity of the pundit and the critical scholarship of the West, the desire for oriental research has been created and the need is felt for a suitable

medium of publication of the results of such research. The field for exploration is vast and the workers are still too few. There is no province in India which, at the present moment, enjoys a more well-deserved reputation for scholarship of the orthodox pundit type than Madras. It is high time that scholars in Madras should redeem themselves from the charge of sterility and give proof of the cultivation of Western methods of research, which are essential to the reconstruction of our past history and a correct appreciation of the value of our past civilisation and culture.

The field which the journal sets before itself for exploration is to some extent indicated by the term "Oriental Research". But, it will naturally be more intimately concerned with India than with other countries of the East. Within this sphere, it will publish the results of researches in linguistics, logic, literature, religion, philosophy, polity, sociology and all other subjects which are ordinarily recognised as falling within the scope of Oriental studies. In addition to the usual features of periodicals of this kind, it will lay stress upon a critical and comparative study of the methods and conclusions of the Hindu Sastras and an appraisalment of their values in the evolution of thought and culture. The promoters of the journal wish to place before themselves a high ideal of scholarship. The fact that the undertaking owes its inspiration to Professor Kuppaswami Sastri, one of the foremost living Sanskrit scholars in India, is a guarantee of the high standard which the promoters have placed before themselves and wish to achieve. All lovers of oriental learning will join me in wishing the journal a successful career.

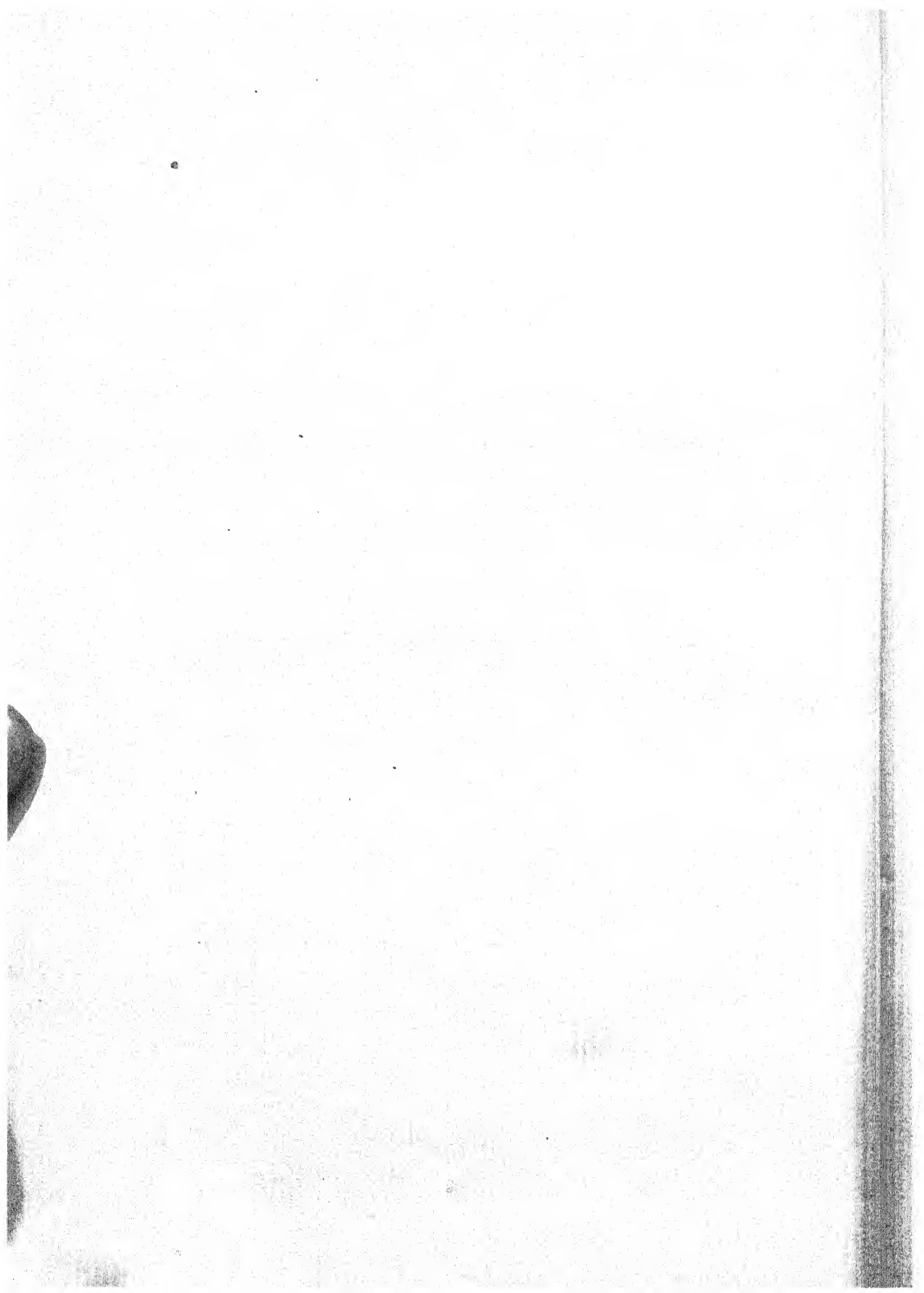
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## PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY IN THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

PROFESSOR S. KUPPUSWAMI ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A. I.E.S.

*Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, and Curator  
Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.*

कति कवयः कति कृतयः

कति लुप्ताः कति चरन्ति कति शिथिलाः ।

तदपि प्रवर्तयति मां

प्राक्तनविश्लेषसंविधानेहा ॥

Many a problem in the Cultural History of Ancient India reduces itself to one of *who is who* or *which is which*. There are several important problems of this kind which await solution in the various departments of Sanskrit Culture. Some interesting and useful data which are likely to facilitate the solution of these problems, have been collected in the course of my study and investigation. These data, it is proposed to make available to scholars in the sections which follow.

### *A.—Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Uttara-Mīmāṃsā.*

[i. *Ācārya-Sundara-Paṇḍya*, a great Mīmāṃsaka and Vedāntin of South India in the *ante-Kaumārīla* period, discovered.]

Who is the author of the three verses quoted by Śrī Śaṅkara towards the end of the *Samanvayādhikaraṇa*, in his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*? What is his place in the history of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Uttara-Mīmāṃsā? At the outset, as a first instalment, these questions will be

considered. Śrī Śaṅkara cites at the end of the Samanvayādhikaraṇa, (1—1—4) the following three verses, in support of his conclusion that all the Śāstraic injunctions and *pramāṇas* cease to exist and function as such after the realisation of *self* as the supreme soul and as the only reality transcending all differences and limitations of good and evil.

“तस्मादहं ब्रह्मास्मीत्येतदवसाना एव सर्वे विधयः सर्वाणि चेताराणि प्रमाणानि । न ह्यहेयानुपादेयाद्वैतात्मावगतौ निर्विषयाण्यप्रमातृकाणि च प्रमाणानि भवितुमर्हन्ति इति । अपि चाहुः—

‘गौणमिथ्यात्मनोऽसत्त्वे पुत्रदेहादिबाधनात् ।

सद्ब्रह्मात्माहमित्येवं बोधि कार्यं कथं भवेत् ॥

अन्वेष्टव्यात्मविज्ञानात् प्राक् प्रमातृत्वमात्मनः ।

अन्विष्टः स्यात्प्रमातैव पाप्मदोषादिवार्जितः ॥

देहात्मप्रत्ययो यद्वत्प्रमाणत्वेन कल्पितः ।

लौकिकं तद्वदेवेदं प्रमाणं त्वात्मनिश्चयात् ॥ ’”

Vācaspati-miśra, in his *Bhāmātī*, introduces these quotations thus :—

“अत्रैव ब्रह्मविदां गाथामुदाहरति.” Presumably, Vācaspati is here referring to some famous philosopher of established reputation for Brahman-realisation, as the author of the three verses above cited. No further information about the name of this author or his work is furnished by Vācaspati.

The *Kalpataru* and the *Parimala* relating to this portion do not give us the required information in this connection. None of the commentaries on the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* throws any light on the source of the verses in question, from the oldest *Pañcapādikā* downward to the *Āvandanagiriya*, *Rāmānandīya* and *Brahma-vidyābharana*, certain unprinted and rare commentaries like the *Prakaṭārtha-vivarana* and Otsukha's *Bhāṣya-bhāva-prakāśikā*, not being excepted. In fact, the *Pañcapādikā* complicates the question by the misleading statement,—

“प्रसिद्धमेतद्ब्रह्मविदामिति पूर्वोक्तं न्यायं संक्षेपतः श्लोकैः संगृह्णाति—  
गौणमिथ्यात्मन इति”

(*vide* p. 100. *Pañcapādikā* of the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series).

Prakāśātman, in his *Vivaraṇa*, does not say anything to remove the misapprehension which Padmapāda's observation might cause, that the verses under reference were produced by Śaṅkara himself to summarise a few of his important conclusions.

Vācaspati, however, is quite clear that these verses were cited by Śaṅkara from a work of an earlier Vedāntin and omits to mention the name of that pre-Śaṅkara Vedāntin, probably because it was too well-known in his days to require specification, Ātmasvarūpa, who was a disciple of Narasiṃhasvarūpa and wrote a commentary called *Prabodha-pariśodhinī* on Padmapāda's *Pañcapādikā*, throws some light on the source of the verses under consideration. This commentary has not been printed anywhere and is represented by the paper manuscript described under R, No. 3225 of the Triennial catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. In the concluding part of this commentary, the commentator introduces thus the extract from the *Pañcapādikā* given above:—

“ श्लोकत्रयं सुन्दरपाण्ड्यप्रणीतं प्रमाणयतीत्याह—प्रसिद्धमिति ”

This information about the author of these hitherto unidentified verses luckily receives further confirmation in the subjoined extract, with particular reference to the third verse, from Mādhavamantrin's *Tātparyā-dīpikā*, the well-known commentary on the *Sūtasamhitā*:—

“ तथा सुन्दरपाण्ड्यवार्तिकमपि—

‘ देहात्मप्रत्ययो यद्वत्प्रमाणत्वेन संमतः ।

लौकिकं तद्वदेवेदं प्रमाणं त्वात्मनिश्चयात् ॥ इति ।

(*vide* p. 284—Madras Śārādā-mandiram edition of the *Sūtasamhitā-muktikhaṇḍa*, ch. IV., verse, 12).

In the *vēdhādyadhikaraṇa* (III-iii-25 sūtra), Amalānanda cites the following verses from a treatise by Ācārya-Sundara Pāṇḍya:—

“ आह चात्र निदर्शनाचार्यसुन्दरपाण्ड्यः—

निःश्रेण्यारोहणप्राप्यं प्राप्तिमात्रोपपादि च ।

एकमेव फलं प्राप्तुमुभावरोहतो यदा ॥ १ ॥

एकसोपानवर्त्येको भूमिष्ठश्चापरस्तयोः ।

उभयोश्च जवस्तुल्यः प्रतिबन्धश्च नान्तरा ॥ २ ॥

विरोधिनोस्तदैकोहि तत्फलं प्राप्नुयात्तयोः ।

प्रथमेन गृहीतेऽस्मिन् पश्चिमोऽवतरेन्मुधा ॥ ३ ॥ इति ।

(p. 795—*Kalpataru-Nirṇaya* Sāgara Press, Bombay.)

In the *Balābālādhikaraṇa* of the *Tantravārtika*, Kumārilaḥṭṭa cites these three verses and two others also dealing with the same subject :—

“आह च—

निःश्रेण्यारोहणप्राप्यं..... ।

... ..पश्चिमोऽवतरेन्मुधा ॥

(verses 1 to 3 same as above)

तेन यद्यपि सामर्थ्यं प्रत्येकं सिद्धमन्यदा ।

तथापि युगपद्भावे जघन्यस्य निराक्रिया ॥ ४ ॥

अन्यथैव हि शून्येषु दुर्बलैरपि चर्यते ।

अन्यथा बलवद्भूतैः सर्वशक्तिक्षये सति ॥ ५ ॥”

*Tantravārtika*-Benares Sanskrit Series, pp. 852-853).

Bhaṭṭa-sōmeśvara's *Nyāyasudhā* or *Bāṇaka*, which is the most authoritative commentary on the *Tantra-vārtika*, introduces the passage cited above, with the remark :—

“एतदेव द्रढयितुं वृद्धानां श्लोकपञ्चकं पठति—आह चेति”

(*Nyāya-sudhā* p. 1228. Chowkh-Sanskrit Series—Benares).

Thus, according to Bhaṭṭa Sōmeśvara, all these five verses form a single illustrative unit by the same author ; and, according to Amalānanda, that author must be *Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya*. By way of briefly elucidating the subject-matter of these five verses, it would be useful to add in this connection that *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* is here expounding the principle of अप्राप्तबाध of the third chapter of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*, as distinguished from



the प्राप्तिबाध of the tenth chapter through the illustration of a staircase from the ground-floor to the upper floor of a mansion. There are two rivals trying to get at a single fruit on the top of a mansion; for getting at it, they have but to reach the top-most step of the staircase. One is anxious to forestall the other; one of them has got the start of one step and is standing on the first step, while the other is standing at the foot; their speed and progress being the same, the person who got the start of his rival gets first at the fruit, while the other gets down disappointed. Even so, the particular type of बाध or annulment considered in the *Balā balādhikaraṇa* of the third chapter is one of *preclusion*; whereas the प्राप्तिबाध of the tenth chapter is of the nature of *supersession*. In this way, Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya illustrates, in the five verses quoted above, the principle of अप्राप्तिबाध and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa is relying upon these verses as authority. In a similar strain, Kumārila is found quoting a verse at page 357 and another verse at pages 280 and 281, of the *Tantravārtika* in support of his views:—

(a) “आह च—

त्र्यंशवेदप्रमाणत्वादुद्भिदादि ततोऽधिकम् ।

धर्मीयानुपयुक्तं सदानर्थक्यं प्रपद्यते ॥

(pp. 280, 281, *Tantravārtika*, Benares.)

“नोद्भिच्चिन्नादिशब्दानां स्वरूपणानर्थक्यं विवक्षितम्, किंतु नामधेयत्वे सतीत्येतमर्थं दर्शयितुं \*वृद्धवाक्य मुदाहरति—आहचेति”

(Nyāya-sūdhā on (a) p. 393 Benares.)

(b) “आह च—

साध्यसाधनसंबन्धः सर्वदा भावनाश्रयः ।

तेन तस्य न सिद्धिः स्याद्भावनाप्रत्ययादृते ॥

(p. 357, *Tantravārtika*, Benares.)

“एनमेव सिद्धान्तं \*वृद्धवचनेन द्रढयति—आहचेति

(Nyāyasūdhā on (b) p. 589 Benares.)

N.B.—\* Probably the *vṛddha* referred to here is Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya.

That the foregoing quotations also, cited in the *Tantravārtika*, appear to have been taken from Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's work is a perfectly legitimate suggestion which is warranted by a careful comparison of them and the *avatārikās* in the *Nyāyasudhā* relating to them, with similar citations definitely ascribed above to Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya. Keeping oneself within strictly logical and historical limits and without treading the perilous path of speculation, one might reasonably arrive at the conclusions hereunder set forth, from a careful consideration of the various references and quotations given above :—

(1) Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya must have been a highly esteemed and eminent authority in the Pūrvottaramīmāṃsā system, who was recognised as such and quoted by Bhaṭṭa Kumārila and Śaṅkara, the greatest champions of Veda and Vedānta in the 8th century A. D.

(2) He must have been the author of a metrical treatise called *Vārtika* which might have consisted mainly of *anṣṭub* verses similar to those of Kumārila and might have dealt with the topics of the Pūrvōtara-mīmāṃsā system, in accordance with some old *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti* on the sūtras of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa,

(3) Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya must have flourished before the 8th century A.D.

(4) He must have been a great Mīmāṃsaka of the Pāṇḍya country and held a high place in the hagiology of South Indian Śaivism.

Of these four conclusions, the first and second rest upon the extracts given above. Amalānanda, who was the protégé of Yādava Krishna (1250 A.D.) and Mādhavamantrin, who was a distinguished disciple of *Kriyā-Śakti Paṇḍita* and flourished during the reign of Harihara II (1378 A.D.), refer to Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya as the author of a *vārtika*. This *vārtika* should have been based upon some old *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti* on the sūtras of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa. Having regard to the fact that this *vārtika* was relied upon by Kumārila and Śaṅkara in support of their views and considering that the verses quoted by Śaṅkara at the end of the *Samanvayādhikaraṇa* are as Advaitic in their tone as any of Śaṅkara's texts, one might well be justified in putting forward the conjecture that the old work, on which Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya based his *vārtika*, was perhaps the *vṛtti* of *Bōdhāyana-Upavarṣa*, (vide Proceedings of the third All India Oriental

Conference, Madras, pp. 465-468). For certain reasons to be set forth *infra*, Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya might be assigned to *circa*, 650 (A.D.). In that case, it may be easily seen how his philosophical thought might have been largely influenced by the advaitic doctrines of *pre-Śaṅkara* advaitins like Bhartṛhari.

The third and fourth of the above conclusions require to be supplemented by such data as may be available from epigraphic and literary sources. In the first place, it would be useful to remember that the name *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* unmistakably suggests that the forgotten author who had that name should have been intimately associated with the Pāṇḍya Country and Pāṇḍya Kingdom in South India. Since Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya is presupposed by Śaṅkara and Kumārila, all the Pāṇḍya Kings later than the eighth century A.D. can be easily eliminated. If the Pāṇḍya history prior to the 9th century A.D., is carefully examined, three important names have to be thought of as worthy of consideration in connection with the identification of Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya. These three names are (1) King Arikēsarīn-Māra-varman or Neḍumārān or Kuṇa-Pāṇḍya or Kubjavarḍhana or Sundara-Pāṇḍya, (2) Saint Tirujñānasambandhar, (3) Saint Sundara-mūrti. Of these three, one may be tempted to think of the possibility of equating the last-mentioned person, Saint Sundara-mūrti, with Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya. But it is generally accepted that Sundara-mūrti was a contemporary of Śeraṁan-Perumāḷ and should, therefore, be assigned to *circa* 825 A.D. He was also a contemporary of the Pallava King Dantivarman. Neither in ancient Tamil hagiology, nor in epigraphic records, is there anything to show that the Śaiva Saint Sundara-mūrti was an eminent Sanskrit Scholar and writer. Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya must have been older than the eighth century A.D. and could not, therefore, be brought into relation with *Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār*.

There are only three possibilities left to be considered here. Firstly, it is quite possible that Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya is identical with the Pāṇḍya King, Kubjavarḍhana or Kūṇa Pāṇḍya or Sundara Pāṇḍya. The accounts of the Tamil Śaiva hagiographic and epigraphic records alike refer to the Pāṇḍya King Neḍumārān or Sundara-Pāṇḍya as a contemporary of Tirujñānasambandhar, whose date has been determined to be *circa* 640-655 A.D. (See G. J. Dubreuil "Pallavas", pp. 67-68.) From the above-mentioned sources and from the *Hālāśya-māhātmya* in Sanskrit, it

may be made out that Kubjavarḍhana was at first a Jaina heretic, subsequently married a Cōla princess and came under the influence of the inspiring and marvellous personality of Tirujñānasambandhar, eventually became a staunch Śaiva, and rose by his devotion and austerity to the rank of one of the sixty three Śaiva saints, under the name of Nedumāraṇ Nāyanār. King Sundara Pāṇḍya or Nedumāraṇ Nāyanār seems to have had a varied and rich experience in the sphere of religion and philosophy and acquired religious and philosophical insight under the inspiration which he had the opportunity to derive from his close contact with Tirujñānasambandhar. In the Sanskrit portion of the bigger Śīṅṅamaṇūr inscription, we find Arikeśarin Sundara Pāṇḍya referred to as A KING WHO WAS LEARNED IN ALL THE ŚĀSTRAS\*. Would it be a far-fetched suggestion to say that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya, presupposed by Śaṅkara and Kumārila was none other than the Pāṇḍya King, Arikeśarin Sundara Pāṇḍya or Nedumāraṇ Nāyanār, who flourished about the middle of the seventh century A. D. ? That Nedumāraṇ Nāyanār was a Śaiva saint and ought to have therefore attached greater importance to Śaivāgamas than the Vedas need not be regarded as clashing with the suggested identification. For, it is recognised by eminent and critical Tamil scholars that, during the period of *Tevārams*, the Vedas and Vedāṅgas were widely recognised by all Śaivas to be of supreme importance [see p. 105 in the second part of the Tamil Varalāgu by Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai of Tanjore—1922]. I do not agree with Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, (*Ibid*-part ii, p. 104), that the *ĕkātmavāda* of the advaitins was not adequately recognised or influentially supported in South India before the time of Śaṅkara. There are positive proofs, on the contrary, to show that the *ĕkātmavāda* and *māyāvāda* of the advaitins were well-known and maintained by several great thinkers and writers of the pre-Śaṅkara period in the history of advaita. It would be of great advantage in this connexion to refer to my paper on *Draṁiḍācārya*, published in pages 468 to 473 of the Proceedings of the third All India Oriental Conference, Madras. Bhaṭṭa Kumārila himself was a South Indian scholar, as may be obvious from internal evidences in his *Tantravārtika*, such as his sneering disapprobation of the manner in which certain Āryan scholars would suggest fanciful etymologies for Tamil words [See

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\* [See the Madras epigraphic report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for southern circle for the year 1906-1907, pp. 63 and 64].

page. 157 of the *Tantravārtika*, Benares]. Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, in his *Ślōka-vārtika*, presupposes and refutes the *māyāvāda* of the *advaitins*. [See page 663, verses 84 to 86 of the *Ślōkavārtika* Benares Edition]. Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya, whether he was identical or not with the Pāṇḍya king of the same name above referred to, must have been a Śaiva Vedāntic teacher of South India, as his name and the foregoing sanskrit extracts clearly indicate. Attention may, with advantage, be drawn in this connexion to the following portions of the three verses quoted at the beginning of this paper :—

“सद्ब्रह्मात्माहमित्येवं बोधि कार्यं कथं भवेत् ।”

“अन्विष्टः स्यात्प्रमातैव पाप्मदोषादिवर्जितः ।”

There is so much in common between these three verses and Śaṅkara's own conclusions about *bhātmavāda* and *māyāvāda*, that one might very reasonably say that Śaṅkara was the greatest of the teachers who inherited the philosophical heritage of an old type of *Śaivādvaita*, which was represented in the Upaniṣadic period by basic texts like the *Śvetāsvatārōpaniṣad*, in the post-Upaniṣadic period, by authoritative works like the *Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Vārtika* and Śaṅkara's own bhāṣyas beside his devotional hymns like the *Śivānanda-lahari* and the *Śiva-bhujāṅga*, and in the post-Śaṅkara period, by the Śivajñānabodha literature and works like the *Śrī-kaṇṭha-Bhāṣya* and *Śivārkamaṇi-dīpikā*. Further, the seventh century A.D in Indian history had to its credit two other eminent royal authors, Śrī Harṣa of Kānya-Kubja and the Pallava King Mahendravarman I, the former of whom was a great statesman, warrior, patron of letters and eminent dramatist, and the latter, as Professor G. J. Dubreuil has pointed out in his treatise on Pallavas, was a saintly King and “a great poet, musician, architect, and administrator, who introduced in South India the art that obtained on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and gave a new impulse to religion and literature in the Tamil country.” There appears to be nothing improbable in the same century of the Christian era claiming in South India, in the person of Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya (Nedumāraṇ), a third royal saint, scholar and author of an authoritative *vārtika* on the science and philosophy of vedic exegesis, as embodied in the Sūtras of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa. Both Kumārila and Śaṅkara must have held Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya in very high esteem, as they quote him with approval and respect. The stray reference to Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Vārtika in Mādhava mantrin's Tātparyā-dīpikā already alluded to, would come to acquire special

significance and weight, should it be borne in mind that the old tradition of Śivādvaita was well preserved under the auspices of Harihara II of Vizianagara, by the great Śaiva teacher *Kriyā-Śakti-Paṇḍita*, whose disciple was Mādhava-mantrin and that the *Sūtasamhitā* itself is a work representing the old *Śivādvaita* school. There is an old tradition about Śaṅkara's relation to the *Sūtasamhitā* and it is embodied in this verse often quoted anonymously.

“ताम्रदशधालोक्य शंकरः सूतसंहिताम् ।

चक्रे शारीरकं भाष्यं सर्ववेदान्तनिर्णयम् ॥”

In the light of the fact behind this tradition, it would be easy to see how Śaṅkara's *Sūtra-bhāṣya* might have derived much valuable help and material from the work called *Sundara-Pāṇḍya-vārtika* by Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya (*Nedumāraṇ Nāyanār*?).

The second possibility is that Tiruñānasambandhar himself might have been known as Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya. The Tamil Śaiva hagiology contains abundant material in support of *Sambandha-Svāmin's* marvellous genius and versatility. He was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, the greatest of the Śaivācāryas and widely known as *Vaidikavāraṇa*. To attribute to him a monumental Vaidika treatise like the *Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Vārtika*, dealing with the religion and philosophy of Veda and Vedānta, would not be unreasonable, if sufficient evidences could be adduced. Sambandha Svāmin, as the revered Ācārya of King-Sundara-Pāṇḍya, might very well have been honoured by the latter with the privilege of prefixing or affixing the royal name to his own appellation of Ācārya. There would appear to be nothing extraordinary or unusual in this mode of honouring Ācāryas, if we remember that particularly among the Pāṇḍya Kings, as numerous epigraphic records show, this prevailed almost as an established custom. Thus it was, that the great Śrī Vaiṣṇava saint, Nammālvār, came to obtain the honorific surname *Parāṅkuśa* from the Pāṇḍya King, whose minister, the saint's father Uttaramantrin, otherwise known as Māraṅkāri, happened to be. [Vide T. A. Gopinath Rao's *History of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, pp. 18-19, Madras University Publication, 1923]. Those who carefully study the hagiographic accounts of Sambandhar in Tamil and Sanskrit can easily see how it is quite possible



that the greatest of Śaiva Saints came to have from his royal disciple, the honorific surname Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya.

Thirdly, there is the possibility of this great Author being a highly respected Ācārya of Pūrvottara-Mīmāṃsā, who must have flourished before Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, during the period of one of the earlier Pāṇḍyas, who had the name Sundara Pāṇḍya. This is the least that one ought to concede. The obvious inference from the sanskrit extracts quoted above, that Ācārya-Sundara-Pāṇḍya was one of the earliest makers of the Mīmāṃsā-Śāstra, belonging to the *ante-Kumārila* period and that, from his monumental Vārtika, Kumārila and Śaṅkara derived much valuable material and help, can no longer be considered debatable or problematic. May the combined efforts of all the lovers of our ancient heritage lead to the unearthing of this long-buried monument of Pūrvottara-Mīmāṃsā, the *Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Vārtika*, is the humble prayer of the writer of this paper.



## LINGUISTIC NOTES.

### A.—SVĀHĀ, SVADHĀ AND SVASTI.

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, B.A., (HONS.) D. PHIL. (OXON.) MADRAS.

The three words *Svāhā*, *Svadhā* and *Svasti* are terms used in the sense of "Hail"; they are exclamations, each with a significance peculiar to itself, and distinct from others, and each is used in contexts distinct from others. These three words govern the dative of the person with reference to whom welfare is wished for, as is given in Pāṇini II.iii-16 : *namas svasti svāhā svadhā lamvaṣaḍyogāc ca*. Bhattojjidīkṣita, after the explanation of the above rule, gives the examples : *prajābhyas svasti*, *agnaye svāhā*, *pitṛbhyas svadhā*. These three words express a condition of being, which for some one is wished for. *Svasti* is a condition which is wished for in the case of men, *svāhā* in the case of gods, and *svadhā* in the case of "dead ancestors" (Pitaraḥ.) The line *svāhāgnaye svadhā pitre svasti dhātṛe* in Mugdhavyākaraṇa V-16 (Böthlingk's edition, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 49) agrees with the Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhattojjidīkṣita. In the Kāśikāvr̥tti, the examples given are exactly the same as in the Siddhāntakaumudī. This shows that the distinction in the meaning and usage of the three words is traditional and goes back to very early times.

These three words occur in the Ṛgveda and an examination of the words shows that the distinct significations of the three words were fixed even at that time. The etymology of all the three words still remains uncertain. The word *svasti* is supposed to be derived from the root *as* = *to be* with the preposition *su* = *well* and the suffix *-ti* according to upādī IV-180, *sāv aseḥ* (edition of Jivānandavidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1873, p. 129). This explanation seems to be acceptable to all the scholars. (Cf. Grassmann's Wörterbuch zum R̥gveda 1635, Böthlingk und Roth, VII, 1460, Śabdakalpadruma V-489, Macdonell's Vedic Reader p. 255). The word *svadhā* is supposed to have two meanings and two derivations. When the word means "food offered to the dead ancestors", the derivation is left uncertain (Cf. Macdonell's Vedic Reader, p. 255, Macdonell's Sanskrit English Dictionary, 1893, p. 370). The word is, in the above places, held to be related to *su-dhā*, from the root *dhā*, which again is related to the root *dhe* = *to drink*. (See Macdonnell's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1893, under the root *dhā* and the root *dhe*.) Śabdakalpadruma

also gives two derivations (V-469): *svadyate aneneti*, *svad āsvādane*, with *ā*, *svader dhas ca iti dasya dhas, ity uṇādivṛttau ujjvaladattaḥ*. In the *uṇādisūtra* with a *vṛtti* in the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the Siddhāntakaumudī and in the Calcutta edition of 1873 by Jivānandavidyā-sāgar with Ujjvaladatta's *vṛtti*, there is no such sūtra as *svader dhas ca*. There is a sūtra *ader dha ca* (sūtra 565 in the upādī in the Bombay edition of Siddhāntakaumudī, and IV-115 in the Calcutta edition cited above). This sūtra gives the derivation of the word *adhvan*. The authority for the statement in the Śābdakalpadruma could not be traced. Śābdakalpadruma gives another derivation for the word from the root *dhā* with the preposition *sva*—*svān dadhātīti*, *dakṣakanyā sā tu pitṛṇām patnī*. (same page as for the other derivation). Max Müller (Sacred Books of the East, XXXII.32 ff.) says that the word is derived from the root *dhā* with the preposition *sva*—and Grassmann (Wörterbuch zum Rgveda 1623) is inclined to agree with this view. The word is compared to Greek *ethos*. *svāhā* is derived usually from the root *ah* with the preposition *su*—This is the root from which is derived the form *āha*. (Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit English Dictionary 1893, p. 373). Śābdakalpadruma derives the word from the root *hve* with the prepositions *su*—and *ā*—*Suṣṭhu āhūyante devā aneneti*, (V-493).

According to the Purāṇic tradition *svāhā* and *svadhā* are two of the daughters of Dakṣa. *svāhā* is the wife of Agni and *svadhā* of the dead ancestors. So in the Śrīmadbhāgavata Purāṇa: *tathāikām agnaye vibhuh, pitṛbhya ekām* (IV-1-48) *svāhābhīmāninaś cāgneḥ* (IV-1-59), *agnisvāttā barhiśadaḥ saumyāḥ pitara ājyapāḥ*, *sāgnayo nagnayas teṣām patnī dākṣāyaṇī svadhā* (IV-1-62). In Brahmapurāṇa Purāṇa occurs the following: *svadhābhīdhānām sudatīm...pitṛbhyas tām dadau brahmā*. (Prakṛtikhaṇḍa ch. 41), *babhūva dāhikā śaktir agneḥ svāhā svakāminī...tatṛājagāma santrasto vahnīḥ...pāṇim jagṛāha mantrataḥ*. (Prakṛtikhaṇḍa ch. 40), *svāhā devahavirdāne...piṇḍadāne svadhā śastā* (ibid). Parallel to this idea occurs the following in the Rgveda: *yāmiś ca devā vāvṛdhur ye ca devān svāhānye svadhayānye madanti* (X.14-3). The meaning of this is "whom (the dead ancestors) the gods made vigorous and who made the gods vigorous, some enjoy *svāhā*, others enjoy *svadhā*." Here it is certain that *svāhā* is peculiar to the gods and *svadhā* to the dead ancestors. The following passages from the Rgveda are also noteworthy: *prādāḥ pitṛbhyaḥ svadhayā ta akṣan addhi tvam deva prayatā havimṣi* (Thou, Agni, hast presented

them to the Fathers; with *svadhā* have they eaten. Do thou eat the oblations offered. X-15-12). The dead ancestors eat *svadhā* and Agni is to eat *havis*. *svadhābhir yajñam sukṛtam juṣasva*. (Come, Agni, to the sacrifice well prepared with *svadhā* X-15-13). Here the *Svadhā* is for the dead ancestors whom Agni knows but whom the worshipper may not know, as is evident from the earlier part of the stanza *ye ceha pitaro ye ca neha yānś ca vidma yā u ca na praviḍma tvam vetiḥa yati te jātavedaḥ* (Those Fathers who are here and those who are not here, those whom I know and those whom I may not know, thou knowest how many they are). Note also *ava sṛja punar agne pitṛbhyo yas ta āhutaś carati svadhābhiḥ*. (Release him O Agni, that he may reach the Fathers, he who, being offered to thee, lives upon *svadhā* X-16-5). The dead soul after death lives upon *svadhā*. Agni is asked to lead him to the highest heavens (*parama vyoman* X-14-8) where the dead souls have gone before, from which there is no return (*naiśā gavyūtir apabhartaṇā u* X-14-2), where they enjoy Soma (*ye satyāso havirādo haviṣpāḥ* X-15-10). Soon after death the soul wanders in the middle region living on *svadhā* (*madhye divaḥ svadhayā mādayante* X-15-14). *Svadhā* is connected with the souls soon after their death, and *svāhā*, *havis*, *soma*, *gharma*, with the souls that have gone up to the higher region among the gods. In the hymns 14, 15 and 16 of the tenth *Maṇḍala* in which the condition of the souls after death is described, this distinction is strictly maintained. There is only one exception: *ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā yamām paśyāsi varuṇam ca devam* (There you will see the two kings, Yama and the god Varuṇa, who enjoy *svadhā*. X-14-7). Yama and Varuṇa are in the highest world, and Varuṇa is a *deva*. Still it is said that they enjoy *svadhā*. I can only suggest an emendation to avoid the difficulty by reading *madantā* as two separate words, *madan* and *tā*, and the meaning then will be "you, enjoying *svadhā*, will see those two kings, Yama and the god Varuṇa".

In all the above passages and in a few others *svadhā* has the meaning 'food,' especially "food offered to the fathers"—Compare *adha svadhā adhayad yābhiriyate* (then he ate *svadhā* and for that he is adored I-144-2). *anu svadhā yamupvate yavam na carakṣad vṛṣā* (I-176-2). *ād it svadhām iṣi-rām parā apaśyan* (I-168-9, X-157-5). *sva ā dame sudughā yāsya dhenuḥ svadhām pipāya subhvaṇnam atti* (II-35-7). *svadhābhir devī pitṛbhir madanti* (X-17-8). *aṣti svadhāpate madaḥ*, (VI-44-1). Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* gives the meaning "Opfertrank" (offering of drink) in

all the above cases, cited in this paragraph. But he does not accept the meaning "Opfertrank" in the case of X-15-3, X-15-14. The word in X-14-3, he gives under both the meanings "Aus eigenem Antrieb, eigener Lust, sich berauschen" and "Opfertrank" (Grassmann's Wörterbuch zum R̥gveda, 1623, 1624). All the commentators agree in this that in some places at least the word means "food"—"food offered to the Fathers." The word occurs 104 times in the R̥gveda, 67 times as an independent word, 36 times as the first element in a compound and once as the latter element in a compound. In nearly all the cases the meaning suggested by the European scholars is "custom, ease, pleasure" (Macdonell's Dictionary referred to above. Cf. Geldner Vedische Studien II-303.)

Sāyaṇa gives the following meanings for the word *svadhā*: *svadhā-kāra*, *bala*, *anna*, *dravya*, *ratha*, *dyāvāprthivī*, *māyā*, *udaka*. I subjoin an analysis of Sāyaṇa's various interpretations for ready reference.

*svadhākāra*: X-14-3; 15-12; 16-5.

*bala*: I-64-4; III-35-10; IV-13-5; VII-104-9; IX-103-5.

*bala* or *udaka*: I-165-5.

*ātmīyena tejasā (bala)*: I-108-12; 113-13.

*anna*: I-33-11; 51-5; 88-6; 95-4; 154-4; 168-9; 176-2; 180-6; II-3-8; III-4-7; 87-5; 51-11; IV-33-6; 52-6; 45-6; V-32-4; 34-1; VI-3-8; VII-43-3; 78-4; VIII-20-7; 32-6; IX-68-4; 71-8; X-14-7; 15-3; 13; 14; 17-18; 37-5; 88-1; 124-8; 129-5.

*anna* or *udaka*: I-6-4; VIII-88-6.

*anna* or *dravyā*: IV-55-4.

*ratha*: VI-26-4.

*dyāvāprthivī*: IX-86-10.

*balahetubhis stutibhiḥ (bala)*: VIII-10-4.

*udaka*: I-144-2; II-35-7; V-60-4; VII-56-13; IX-92-4.

*svena lotān dadhātīti*: III-26-8.

*svasmin dhīyate dhriyate āśritya vartata iti māyā*: X-129-2.

*svayam ātmānam dhārayantīyā*: X-27-9.

*annakāryam balam*: IV-13-5 (See above).

*ātmānam poṣayātīti balam*: III-35-10. (See above).

*annasya (pālaka)*: VI-44-1.

*svadhāvat*, as *annavat* in most cases,

*diptimān* : VII-86-4 ; X-142-3.

*balavān* : II-20 6 ; VI-21-3 ; VII-201 ; 37-2 : VIII-44-20 ; X-42-9.

*balavān* or *annavān* : IV-63-6 ; X-31-8.

Thus Sāyaṇa takes the word mostly in the meaning of *anna*, and then in the meaning of *bala* and *udaka*, which are closely related to *anna*. Sāyaṇa must have a long tradition behind him, and in his mind the meaning of *anna* must be so closely associated with the word *svadhā*. Sāyaṇa gives the etymology of the word as : *svena lokān dadhātīti* (III-26-8), *ātmānam poṣayātīti* (III-35-10), *svayam ātmānam dhārayantyā* (X-27-9). Also look under the meaning *māyā* above. From these cases it is clear that Sāyaṇa has in his mind the derivation of the word from the root *dhā* with the preposition *sva*-though he does not give the derivation anywhere in his commentary on the Ṛgveda.

We must see if any other etymology for the word *svadhā* is possible. One cannot ignore the parallelism between the two words *svadhā* and *svāhā*. The two words refer to two different worlds altogether, in the life of a soul after death, as was shown above, in some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda (X-14 ; 15 ; and 16), where we can expect a precise use of the words, and also in the later Sanskrit Literature. It is true that in other passages of the Ṛgveda, *svadhā* refers to gods also, to beings in the higher of the two worlds after death. *Svāhā* always refers to the gods, never to the souls in the lower of the two worlds. *Svadhā* and *svāhā* never refer to the souls in this physical condition. The word referring to them is *svasti*, which is never applied to the souls after death in either of the worlds, nor to gods. According to Grassmann (Wörterbuch zum Rigveda 1623, 1624) and Max Müller (S.B.E. XXXII-35) the primary meaning of *svadhā* is "one's own will", and the meaning "food" is a later development: one's own portion, the portion of the Fathers, food. According to these authorities, it is in the later hymns of the Ṛgveda that *svadhā* occurs in the sense of "food". Even accepting the theory that the hymns X-14, 15, and 16 are later ones, still it need not necessarily be that meanings of words in these hymns are later meanings. It is quite possible that the original meaning of a word is preserved in later hymns, especially when such hymns are of a technical nature as the three hymns referred to here. The word may have originally meant food, and from that may have derived the meanings "strength, will, usage, custom." The word



may have been used in a loose way in the time of the Ṛgveda. But the three hymns refer to the condition of the soul after death. The soul lives in two worlds, and a distinction has to be drawn between the two worlds; as such, the word is used in its original strict sense in these hymns.

According to Sāyana, the primary meaning of *svadhā* is "anna". He follows Nighaṇṭu, which is very old indeed, far older than Yāska. In the Nighaṇṭu there are three meanings given, "anna" (II-7) and "udaka" (I-12); the word is given along with the names of Dyāvāpṛthivī also (III-30). In this last meaning the word occurs only once, in IX-86-10. If, on the authority of the Nighaṇṭu and the tradition handed down to Sāyana, we accept that the original meaning of the word *svadhā* is "anna", the root that comes uppermost in our mind is the root *svad-* to eat. Such a derivation of the word is made very probable by the fact that the word *svadhā* is not divided into *sva-dhā* in the *Padapāṭha* of the Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda. It is true that the word is so divided in Yajurveda. The *Padapāṭha* is helpful to know the etymology of words. For example there is the word *aramanas* (only once in Ṛgveda VI-17-10). The word *aramati* which occurs many times in the Ṛgveda is not divided in the *Padapāṭha*. But by a comparison with *ara-manas* (which is divided), we can say that the word *aramati* is derived from *aram* and *mati*. But Sāyana mostly explains the word as "anuparati" as though it is *a-ramati*. It is true that there are many incongruities in the *Padapāṭha*; for example compare the *Padapāṭhas* of *jāspati*, *dampati*, *gnāspati* and *gnāspatnī*; of *gobhiḥ* and *gobhyaḥ*. Although the fact that the word *svadhā* is not divided in the *Padapāṭha* is no proof for the fact that the element *sva* is radical and not a preposition, it is a strong evidence in favour of referring the word to the root *svad*. There is a very great difficulty which perhaps pulls down the whole argument. There is absolutely no tradition, no authority for such an assumption. Further there is the Greek word *ethos* or *ēthos*, the German word *Sitte*, Old High German *Sittu*, and Gothic *Sidu*. These words are philological equivalents of *svadhā*, and they mean "habit, one's own place" (Cf. S.B.E., XXXII—32, Greek English Lexicon by Liddell and Scott under *ethos*). Nearly the entire tradition of India is to derive the word *svadhā* from *sva* and the root *dhā*. (Cf. the reference to Sāyana above; *Nirukta* Vol. I, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 129, 209, 372; Śabdakalpadruma, Vācaspatya and Bhānudikṣita on Amara under the word.). Vācaspatya and Bhānudikṣita say that the word may be derived from

the root *svad*, according to Pāṇini "*prṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*" (VI-3-109). *Prṣodarādi* is an *ākṛtiḡaṇa*, and, as such, the rule is wide enough to cover any number of sins, and is of little help to us. I am not yet able to find out the authority for the derivation in *Śabdakalpadruma*. (See above).

The parallelism between the words *svadhā* and *svāhā* gives us a clue to find out the etymology of the words. Both end in *-hā*. Can it not be that they have a similar etymology? If in the words *svadhā* and *svāhā*, *hā* is a suffix, the roots could be *svad* and *svā* (*svas*?) respectively. For the root *svad* as the base of *svadhā*, we have the authority of *Śabdakalpadruma*, *Vācaspatya* and *Bhānūdīkṣita*, though their etymology is not to be accepted in a philological treatise. The root *svas* (perhaps interchangeable with the root *svar*) may be assumed as having the meaning of "to be eternal." The word *svarga* may be taken as derived from such a root. Grassmann takes the words *svar*, *svarga*, *sūra*, *sūrya* and *sūri* from a root *sūr*=to shine (*Wörterbuch* 1566). *Dhātupāṭha* does not give a root *sūr* or *svar* (*svas*.) It is found necessary to accept a root *sūr*, for we can derive *sūri* from the root *sūr*, rather than from the root *sū*, as there is no vedic suffix *ri*. *Sūr* and *svar* can be the same root, and *svas* can be a variant of the root *svar*, (Cf. the roots. *Var* and *Vas*.) The relation of *sūri* with *svarga* is very plain in *R̥gveda*. I-22 20; V-16-5; 66-6; VII-66-11; XI-98-12; X-13-1.

If we have to assume a root *sūr*, the question is whether the meaning of the root is "to shine" or "to be eternal," and whether the word *svāhā* could be referred to it. If *svadhā* is from the root *svad* and *svāhā* from the root *svas*, the two words may mean the condition of enjoyment and condition of eternity. There is another word which may be referred to the root *svas*, and that is *svasti*. This word is also not divided in the *Padapāṭha*, thus pointing to a derivation *svas-ti*, rather than *sv-asti*. The word occurs as an indeclinable, and as *svastih*, *svastim*, *svastibhiḥ*, *svastaye*, *svastau*, and also in compounds like *svastigā*, *svastidā*, *svastimat*, *svastivah*. As *svastaye*, it occurs mostly with such words as *ūtaye*, *avase*, *rāye*, *sakhyāya*. From this, it would seem that all these words have a similar meaning. Maconell (*Vedic Reader*, p. 12, II-35-1) says that evidently the word means "well-being." Perhaps Maconell's evidence is that the word is used along with *avase*, because he does not say anything in I-1-9, already annotated upon, where it occurs alone. But here also we have a clue. There is a clear difference between the uses of *svasti* and the other



words. The word *svasti* is closely associated with a place beyond, while *avas*, *ūti* etc. are happy conditions *here* (Note the word *svasti* in I-116 6; 8; 117-15; 174-9; II-9-6; 15-5; 33-3; III-31-20' IV-11-6; V-4-11; 16-5; 42-4; 15; 51-14; 15 VI-4-8; 47-8; VIII-16-11; 31-11; X-14-11; 59-6).

Apart from this, there are two considerations which persuade us to relate the word *svasti* with the root *svas*-to be immortal. The traditional meaning of the word is *avināśa*. So explains Yāska, the word in III-21 (*svastīty avināśināma*.) Yāska's explanations must have a tradition behind it. Sāyaṇa follows Yāska and gives "*avināśa*" in most of the places. Then there is the R̥gvedic hymn X-178, which is addressed to Tārksya. Note especially the passages *svastaye tārksyam ihā huvema*, and *svastaye nāvam ivā ruhema*. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says, (iv. 20) *tārksyam svargakāmasya rohet tārksyo ha vā etam purvo 'dhvānam ait* etc. This suggests that *svasti* and the condition of *svarga* are the same. R̥gveda X-63-4, 10 and 14 agree with this hypothesis. Cf. also V-4-11; VI-47-8; X-59-6; 7; VI-51-16; X-152-2; VIII-69-16; X-101-7. In all these passages *svasti* is identical with the eternity in *svarga*. Then nearly in every passage where the word *svasti* occurs, there is the idea of going to a new place, to cross an ocean, all pointing to an idea that *svasti* is a condition beyond the earth, that it is connected with *svarga*.

Further, if *svasti* be derived from *su* and *asti* and if this *asti* be the verbal form, the accent ought to have been on *su-as* and not on *-ti*, since *-ti* is an unaccented suffix. If the *-ti* in *svasti* be a nominal suffix as in *tati* and *gati*, the word ought to have been *susti*, as the *a* of the root *as* drops before an accented suffix as in *stah* and *santi*. If we accept a root *svas* then we can have *svasti* with accent on the suffix. The *v* in the root *svas* may be taken as going back on an original *v* as in the case of *svas*, where it need not be changed into *u* in the weak grade.

On account of the intimate relation of *svarga* and *svasti*, and as *svasti* is traditionally explained as *avināśa* and we have to accept a root *svar* or *sūr* to get the form *sūri*, we can also assume a root *svas* as a variant of the root *svar* or the root *sūr* and as meaning "to be eternal." The meaning of the root *svar* may also be "to be eternal", and *svarga* "a condition of eternity as contrasted with the condition of death and birth in life" may be from this root. *Svarga* is the place of eternal life, *sūri* is he who is eternal, who knows the eternal condition, these two words being from *svar*; *svasti* is the

condition of eternity wished for, for the mortals, and *svāhā* is the condition of eternity already attained by the immortals, these two forms being from the root *svas*. Although *svasti* and *svāhā* are from the same root, and denote the same condition, still there is a slight difference in the shade of meaning. One is the condition wished for and the other is the condition already attained. Such shades of meanings are differentiated in the case of other words also, although the main idea is the same, as in the case of *Vṛtra* and *Vala*. *Vṛtra* covers up the waters of the middle region (the first world reached by the soul after death (IX-113-8), and *Vala* covers up the light of the highest world. As *svāhā* is the condition of eternity already attained, *svadhā* (from the root *svad*-to enjoy, to eat) is the condition already attained, of enjoyment in the first world after death. (Cf. IX-113-10). These two conditions of *svadhā* and *svāhā* (of enjoyment and eternity after death) of the soul is also indicated in RV. I-164-20. Thus to explain the three words *svāhā*, *svadhā*, and *svasti*, I assume the roots *svas* and *svad*, and the suffixes *-ti* and *-hā*, both the suffixes denoting a state. There is this difference that *-ti* denotes a state wished for, and *-hā* a state already attained!

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[The hypothesis of a primitive Indo-Germanic root *suedh* would appear to account for the radical elements in *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *svādu* and *sudhā*. Were *suesdh* the primitive root, the radical element in *svasti* also could be brought into line with the other three forms referred to. Cf. O.H.G. *suozī*—Ed.]

## B.—BHADANTA.

PROFESSOR S. KUPPUSWAMI ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A., I.E.S.

*Bhadanta*.—This is ordinarily used in Sanskrit and Pāli literature as a term of respectful address, when referring to Buddhist mendicants. In a footnote appearing at page 164 of the September, 1926 number of the Indian Antiquary, under the contribution entitled "Two Tamil Hymns for the Margazhi festival", which contains an English translation of the hymns and for which Mr. A. Butterworth and Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar are jointly responsible, I find the following remarks about the etymology of the word '*bhadanta*':—"This expression refers to the habitually white teeth of the mendicant celebrates as opposed to other men whose teeth require to be cleaned because of the use of betel, etc. Mendicants are forbidden the use of this. Hence the name *bhadanta* for certain classes of these from this peculiarity." This etymology is indeed amusing, to say the least, and stands on a level with the explanation of the word *vidhavā* as *vigatō dhavō yasyās sā*. Evidently the ingenious author of this etymology of the word *bhadanta* is thinking of the possibility of resolving it into *bhāniva dantāḥ yasya saḥ*. To avoid any historical or antiquarian speculation being based on this etymology for the mere reason that it has the imprimatur of an influential Journal of respectable standing, I hasten to suggest what seems to me the correct explanation of this word.

It is derived from the root *bhād*, which is included in Pāṇini's dhātu-pāṭha in the sense "to be auspicious or happy." This root still survives in the form *bhadra*. The same radical element is found in *batis* (Goth), *bet* (A.S.), *better* (Eng). Curtius suggests that perhaps *bhād* is an expansion of the root *bhā*—to shine (See Vol. II, page 301—Curtius-Greek Etymology, English translation, by Wilkins and England). *Bhadant* first arises in Sanskrit as *ant-stem*, like *kurv-ant*, *bhar-ant* etc., and then becomes thematised into *bhad-anto* in Pāli and from *bhad-anto*, a *reformat* arises in Sanskrit. In this connection, it would be interesting to see how, in a similar manner, from *ad-ant*, *ad-anto* should have arisen in Prakṛt, and from the last-mentioned form, the word *danta* should have appeared in

Sanskrit. In a similar way the Avestic participial formation *bar-anto* arises. It is indeed noteworthy here that this prākṛtic habit of thematising Sanskrit *ant-stems* and *vant-stems* is strikingly exhibited in Tamil forms like தனவந்தன், ஹனுமந்தன், பாக்கியவந்தன், from the Sanskrit forms *dhanavant*, *Hanumant*, *bhāgyavant*. Compare also the forms referred to in the *uṇādi-sūtras* 413 to 417.

## INDRA—THE ṚG-VEDIC ĀTMAN.

MISS O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI, B.A. (HONS.)

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

The Ṛg-Vedic Indra has been variously interpreted as the sky, the year, the Sun, and Fire, and as an atmospheric deity of the Storm, and the Maruts, his companions—as the storm-winds. Obsessed with the idea of a naturalistic basis for every possible Vedic god, modern scholars have wholly ignored the suggestions of the *Ādhyātmika* school of Vedic interpretation, which sees in Indra the Self, and in the Maruts the *Prāṇas*, as the fantastic attempts of theologians, divided from the Vedic age by time and culture, to read their later ideas into the ancient texts. But the tendency of our progress in Vedic interpretation seems to be towards, rather than away from traditional explanations. In his *Vedic Hymns* Vol. I, p. 1532, Max Müller remarks on ṚV. VI, 16.14. "Here the context can leave no doubt that *Dadhyañc* and *Vṛṣan* were both intended as proper names," and goes on to comment on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa exposition of this passage and Mahīdhara's commentary, which identify *Vṛṣan Pathya* with mind and *Dadhyañc* with speech, as "a small chapter in the history of the rise and fall of the Indian mind." Twenty-eight years later, Maedonell in his *Vedic mythology* p. 142 says, "It does not seem an altogether improbable conjecture that *Dadhyañc* originally signified the lightning form of fire." And speech is correlated with Fire in the symbolism of the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad periods and had possibly been so connected from still earlier times. See ṚV. X-90-13 AV. X-7. 33.

The evidence of later Vedic literature is decidedly in favour of the *ādhyātmika* view. See AV. Hymn to Skambha X-7-29 ; 30; the hymn to the Brahmacārin, XI, 5, 7; 16. On another Atharvaṇa hymn to Prāṇa, Bloomfield remarks that a noteworthy feature of this hymn is the predication to Prāṇa of the qualities of a rain-god.

Indra's dominant position in the sacrificial system that regarded the rite as a mystical union of the self of the sacrificer with Prajāpati, is very significant and in keeping with his *ādhyātmika* aspect. Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa 8-3, identifies Indra with the man in the Sun, with Prajāpati.

with the holy power. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa calls him *Breath-obtainer*, who, having obtained breath, goes round seeking bodies. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the *Agnicyana* section, 6-1-1-1—6, gives a detailed exposition of Indra as the vital air in the midst, who, by his *Indriya*, kindled those others—*Indha*, mystically called *Indra*. In the Upaniṣads this identification is a constantly recurring one. See Brhadāranyaka upaniṣad 4, 2, 2; 3; 6, 4, 2; 3; Aitareya upaniṣad 1, 3, 12; 14; Kauṣītaki upaniṣad, the whole of the 3rd adhyāya; Maitrī 7-11, etc.

Etymology does not help to make clear the original conception of these deities. It is generally held that Indra is derived from the same root that, in Sanskrit, yielded *indu*, but Professor Roth derived it from *in* or *inu*=to urge, or overcome, Marut is usually derived from *mar*=to grind, crush, or to shine, although Kuhn, Benfey and others have thought it is connected with *mar*=to die, and that the Maruts were personifications of the spirits of the dead.

The uses of *indriyam* in ordinary Sanskrit, a word unmistakably derived from Indra, lends support to the *ādhyātmika* view, while Marut signifies 'wind,' a sense not incompatible with Prāṇa, vital air. It is given as a synonym for *deva* in many of the Indian dictionaries, and Maru in Pāli means *deva*. In the Upaniṣads, the Prāṇas are the devas in our bodies. This idea, of devas in our bodies, seems not unknown to the Samhitās also: see R.V. XI-88-7 gods तनुषः Tait, Sam. VII, 3-11-1. Make the body of the enemy *godless, strengthless*, AV. XI 8-18; the gods enter into man. X-8-32; all duties are seated in man, like cows in a cow-stall.

Nor can the mythologists, ancient and modern, claim to give a much more literally true rendering of the Indra and Marut hymns than the *Ādhyātmikas*, in many cases. Words that literally mean mountains, bright ones, spotted deer, cows, rocks, islands, have to be translated into *clouds* to support the naturalistic interpretation. So also in the case of rain, and lightning. We may therefore give the *Ādhyātmikas* a hearing at least for those Rks that are meaningless or obscure when treated by the ordinary method even thus freely applied. A few such Rks are given below.

स इद्वने॑ नमस्युभिर्वचस्यते॑ चारु॑ जनेषु प्रब्रुवाण॑ इन्द्रियम् ।

वृषा॑ छन्दुर्भवति॑ हर्यतो॑ वृषा॑ क्षेमेण॑ धेनां॑ मघवा॑ यदिन्वति॑ ॥

Professor Max Müller felt the difficulty of giving this R̥k to Indra, and although it occurs in an Indra hymn, he assigns it to Soma, on inadequate grounds. But see

यद॑चर॒स्तन्वा॑ वावृ॒धानो॑ ब॒लानीन्द्र॑ प्र॒ब्रुवा॒णो जने॑षु ।

R̥V, X. 54, 2.

यस्मान्न॑ ऋ॒ते वि॒जय॑न्ते जना॑सो॒यं युद्ध॑य॒माना॒ अव॑से ह॒वन्ते ।  
यो वि॒श्वस्य॑ प्र॒तिमानं॑ ब॒भूव॒ यो अ॑च्युत॒च्युत॑स जना॑स इन्द्रः ॥

II. 12-9.

मह॑त्तद्वः कव॑य॒श्चारु॒ नाम॒ यद्व॑ दे॒वा भव॑थ वि॒श्व इन्द्रे॑ ।

III, 54-17

स॒त्रा ते॒ अनु॑ कृ॒ष्टयो॒ विश्वा॑ च॒क्रेव॑ वावृ॒तुः ।

स॒त्रा म॒ह्यँ अ॒सि श्रु॒तः ॥

IV. -2.

अवा॑चचक्षं प॒दम॑स्य स॒स्वरु॑मं नि॒धातु॑रन्वायमिच्छन् ।

अ॒पृच्छ॑म॒न्योँ उ॒त ते॒ म आहु॑रिन्द्रं नरो॑ बु॒बुधा॒ना अ॑शेम ॥

V. 30-2,

रूपं॑ रूपं॑ प्र॒तिरूपं॑ ब॒भूव॒ तद॑स्य रूपं॑ प्र॒तिच॑क्षणा॒य ।

इन्द्रो॑ मा॒याभिः॑ पु॒रुरूप॑ ई॒यते॑ यु॒क्ता ह्य॑स्य ह॒रयः॑ श॒ताद॑श ॥

VI. 47-18

मन्ये॑ त्वा य॒ज्ञियं॑ य॒ज्ञियानां॑ मन्ये॑ त्वा च्यव॑नम॒च्युता॑नाम् ।

मन्ये॑ त्वा स॒त्वना॑मिन्द्र के॒तुं मन्ये॑ त्वा वृष॑भं च॒र्षणी॑नाम् ॥

VIII. 96-4.



मह्यं त्वष्टा वज्रमतक्षदायसं मयि देवासोऽवृजन्नपि क्रतुम् ।  
ममानीकं सूर्यस्येव दुष्टरं मामार्यन्ति कृतेन कर्त्स्वेन च ॥

X. 48-3.

महत्तन्नाम गुह्यं पुरुस्पृग्येन भृतं जनयो येन भव्यम् ।  
प्रतनं जातं ज्योतिर्यदस्य प्रियं प्रियाः समविशन्त पञ्च ॥

X. 55-2.

आ रोदसी अपृणादोत मद्भयं पञ्च देवाँ क्रतुशः सप्त सप्त ।  
चतुर्विंशता पुरुधा विचष्टे सरूपेण ज्योतिषा विव्रतेन ॥

X. 55-3.

ऐभिर्ददे वृष्ण्या पौस्यानि येभिरौक्षद्वृत्रहत्याय वज्री ।  
ये कर्मणः क्रियमाणस्य मह्यः ऋतेकर्ममुदजायन्त देवाः ॥

X. 55-7.

युजा कर्माणि जनयन्विद्वौजा अशस्तिहा विश्वमनास्तुराषाट् ।  
पीत्वी सोमस्य दिव आवृधानः शूरो निर्युधाधमदस्यून् ॥

X. 55-8.

त्वं विश्वस्य जगतश्चक्षुरिन्द्रासि चक्षुषः ।

वृषा यदार्जि वृषणा सिषाससि चोदयन् वाघ्रिणा युजा ॥

X. 102-12.

There are some significant characteristics of Indra, in addition to the stormy or luminous atmospheric attributes generally emphasised, which are almost exclusively his in the R̥gveda. He is pre-eminently the strong

god. The epithets *śacipati*, *śatakratu*, *śakra* are peculiar to him. In about 88 passages of the R̥gveda where some form of *śusma* is used, 46 refer directly to Indra, and 3 to him in a dual with some other god. About 22 refer to Soma, of which 20 are found in the Soma maṇḍala, two elsewhere refer to the same deity in Indra hymns. The very intimate connection of the two gods, and their almost interchangeable character are very well known. *śusma* means *breath* and is often used in this sense in the R̥gveda, as well as in its derived meaning of strength. This nearly exclusive connection of Indra with *breath-strength* strongly supports the view of Indra as the Self or Spirit of man. (*ātman-breath*).

Again of the words *vṛṣa* and *vṛṣabha*, used nearly 600 times in the R̥k Saṁhitā, about 300 refer to Indra in Indra hymns, and a hundred to Soma in the 9th maṇḍala, nearly always in close connection with Indra. In the nearly 200 references that remain, these epithets are found distributed among a dozen other divinities, besides being used very often in their original sense without particular reference to any god, as denoting the male in his sexual aspect.

See I-179-1; 2; II-16-8; IX-19-5; X-10-10; etc. This sense is clearly in the mind of the poet in most places. These statistics alone may not be considered very significant because of the comparatively very great number of Indra hymns. But *Agni* owns nearly 200 sūktas to Indra's 250; moreover the comparison is not between Indra and any other one god, and of the more than 1000 hymns of the R̥k-Saṁhitā, Indra is celebrated only in about one-fourth of them. The real preponderance of the idea of *vṛṣatvam* and *vṛṣabhatvam* in the conception of Indra may be judged from examples like the following

वृष्णः कोशः पवते मध्व ऊर्मि—वृषभानाय वृषभाय पातवे ।

वृषणाध्वर्यू वृषभासो अद्रयो वृषणं सोमं वृषभाय सुष्वति ॥

II-16-5.

वृषा ते वज्र उत ते वृषा रथो वृषणा हरी वृषभाण्यायुधा ।

वृष्णो मदस्य वृषभ त्वमीशिष इन्द्र सोमस्य वृषभस्य तृणुहि ॥

II-16-6.

See also V. 36. 5; V. 40. 2; 3; VIII. 13-31; 32; etc. etc.

It is the refore clear that strength in its generative aspect occupied a prominent place in the speculations of the vedic seers, and that this characteristic was Indra's almost exclusively among his contemporaries. In the glorification of the Brahmaośrin in A.V. XI-5 verses 7 and 16 identify him with Indra, and verse 12 indicates this aspect of the god.

अभि॒क्र॒न्दन् स्त॒नय॑न्न॒रुणः शि॒ति॒ज्ञो बृ॒ह॒च्छे॒पो॒नु॒भू॒मौ ज॒भार ।

ब्र॒ह्म॒चारी॑ सि॒ञ्चति॑ सा॒नौ रे॒तः पृ॒थि॒व्यां ते॒न जी॒वन्ति॑ प्र॒दि॒श॒श्च॒त॒स्रः ॥

AV. XI-5, 12.

And although he is not associated with any immoral traits in the Samhitās or Brāhmaṇas, the many unedifying stories of the Purāṇic Indra also bear witness to the same fact treated in a crude fashion for the purposes of popular religion.

Another prominent attribute of Indra in the R̥g-veda is his power of impelling or stimulating as signified by the root *cud*. *Codita* occurring about 6 times in the R̥gveda, is in every instance an epithet of Indra, and in VIII-46-19, he is called *codayanmate*.

*Carṣanisaḥaḥ*, *carṣanidhṛtaḥ* or *carṣanidhṛt*, and *carṣaniprāḥ*, are three other significant epithets applied to vedic deities, more significant if the etymological meaning is considered. Of these *carṣanisaḥaḥ* is used 5 times out of 6, of Indra, *carṣaniprāḥ* 6 times of Indra, once of Agni, and once as an epithet of Rayī; *carṣanidhṛtaḥ* and *carṣanidhṛt* are used 9 times, 6 times of Indra, once each of Agni, Mitra, and some other god.

Indra's connection with the Maruts is a very intimate one. These gods are connected with the number Seven in the R̥gveda.

स॒प्त ये॑ स॒प्त शा॒किन् ए॒कमे॒का श॒ता द॒दुः ।

V. 52. 17.

स॒प्तानां॑ स॒प्त ऋ॒ष्टयः॑ स॒प्तद्यु॒न्नान्येषा॑म् । स॒तो अ॒धि श्रि॒यो धिरे॑ ॥

VII 28. 5.

And Indra is called 'the mighty seven-reined bull'

यः स॒त्तर॑श्मि॒र्वृष॑भस्तुवि॒ष्मान्..... ।

The prāṇas are connected with the same number in later vedic literature.

See Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad. 2-1-8.

सप्त प्राणाः प्रभवन्ति तस्मात्सप्तार्चिषः समिधः सप्तहोमाः ।

सप्त इमे लोका येषु चरन्ति प्राणा गुहाशया निहिताः सप्त सप्त ॥

The Maruts are the only deities who did not forsake Indra in his fight with Vṛtra (The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa supplies an explanation. The Maruts are the Breaths—the Breaths did not leave him.) They attained their holy names only when they had united with him.

यदीमिन्द्रं शम्य॑काण॒ आ॒श॒तादि॒न्नामा॑नि य॒ज्ञिया॑नि दधिरे ॥

I, 87-5.

See also I. 6-4.

They increase his strength III-35-9; VI-17-11; etc.

He is called the knowing or intelligent controller of the Maruts.

स नो॑ वेधो म॒रुता॑ चि॒क्त्वान्त्सु॒म्ना व॑नुष्व॒ तव॑ हि प्रेष्ठा॑ ॥

I, 169-1.

The knowing seer of the Maruts.

अ॒र्चन्ति॑ त्वा म॒रुतः॑ पू॒तद॑क्षास्त्वमे॒षामृ॑षि॒रिन्द्रा॑सि॒धीरः॑ ॥

V. 29-1.

The idea that the Maruts have a common moving force is frequently found.

को वोऽन्त॑र्म॒रुत ऋ॒ष्टिवि॑द्युतो॒ रेज॑ति॒ त्मना॑ ह॒न्वेव॑ जि॒ह्वाया॑ ।

I. 168-5.

क॒या शु॒भा स॒वय॑सः स॒नीला॑ स॒मान्या॑ म॒रुतः॑ सं मि॒मिक्षुः॑ ।

I. 165-1.

They are like spoke in one nave united.

र॒थानां॑ न ये॒ऽराः स॒नाभयः॑—

X-78.4.

This central moving force of the Maruts seems to be Indra and with them Indra perceives.

क्रा॒णा रु॒द्रा म॒रुतो॑ वि॒श्वकृ॑ष्ट्यो दि॒वः श्ये॒नासो॑ अ॒सुर॑स्य नी॒ळयः॑ ।

तेभि॑श्च॒ष्टे व॒रुणो॑ मि॒त्रो अ॒र्यम॑न्द्रो दे॒वेभि॑र॒र्वशे॑भि॒रर्व॑शः ॥

X. 92.6.

The singular verb is remarkable ; also the अव॒र्षमि॑र॒र्वशः । Here is another Rk which is very obscure to the naturalistic view, but full of significance for the *ādhyātmika* interpreter of the Maruts as Prāṇas.

सोमा॑सो न ये सु॒तास्तु॑सांश॒नो ह्य॒सु पी॒तासो॑ दु॒वसो॑ वा॒सते॑ ।

I, 168.3.

The relation of these deities to Indra is best illustrated by another sūkta which is in the form of a dialogue between Indra and the Maruts. It is here rendered mostly in accordance with the translation of Professor Max Müller and by the help of his excellent notes (Vedic Hymns Vol I).

## Texts.

## Remarks.

क॒या शु॒भा स॒वय॒सः स॒नीलाः

स॒मा॒न्या म॒रुतः॑ सं॒ मि॒क्षुः ।

क॒या म॒ती कु॒त ए॒तास॑ ए॒तेऽर्च॑न्ति

शु॒ष्मं वृ॒षणो॑ वसू॒या ॥

I. 165-1.

*Indra Speaks.*—To what equal splendour do the Maruts cling, they, who are of the same age and dwell in the same nest? To what will? The strong ones praise breath through desire for wealth.

कस्य॑ ब्र॒ह्माणि॑ जु॒जुषु॑र्य॒वानः॑

को अ॒ध्वरे॑ म॒रुत॒ आ व॑वर्त ।

श्ये॒नाँ इ॒व भ्र॑जतो अ॒न्तरि॑क्षे

के॒न म॒हा म॒नसा॑ री॒रमाम॑ ॥

I. 165-2.

Whose prayers have the youths accepted, who has turned the Maruts to the sacrifice, by what strong desire may we arrest them, who float through the air like hawks?

कु॒त॒स्त्वमि॒न्द्र मा॒हि॒नः॑ स॒नेको॑

या॒सि स॒त्प॒ते किं॑ त इ॒त्या ।

These questions give the clue to the whole dialogue. What is that splendour which the Maruts share in common, and by which they are united?

Max Müller gives this and the preceding verse to the sacrificer against the authority of the *Anukramanikā*. This is not necessary, and will make the third verse abrupt and pointless. Here, Indra expresses his intention of bringing the Maruts to him in the nest; they, having appeared, ask him what he has to say to them.

The concluding words of this verse show that the preceding Rk should be assigned to Indra—The Maruts, 'arrested by the strong desire' (See



## Texts.

## Remarks.

संपृच्छसे समराणः शुभानैर्वोचे-

1-165-2) of Indra appear and ask him what he has to say to them.

स्तन्नो हरिवो यत्ते अस्मे ॥

I. 165-3.

*Maruts* :—From whence, O Indra, dost thou come alone, thou who art mighty? Lord of Men, what has thus happened to thee? Meeting us the bright ones thou greetest us. Lord of Bay steeds say to us what thou (hast to say) to us.

ब्रह्माणि मे मतयः शं सुतासः

शुष्म इयति प्रभृतो मे अद्रिः ।

आ शासते प्रति हर्यन्त्युक्थेमा

हरी वहतस्ता नो अच्छ ॥

I. 165-4.

The sacred songs are mine, the prayers-sweet are the libations-strength (breath) stirs (or is stirred), my thunderbolt is hurled forth. They call for me, the hymns yearn for me. Here are my horses, they carry us towards them. (Oblations).

Indra seems to invite the Maruts to accompany him to the sacrifice. It is often said that they attain their holy names, that is to say, their sacrificial share when they unite with him. It is not necessary to read into this *sūkta* "the boorish rudeness, selfishness and boastfulness" of a village squabble, which Max Müller supposes the R̥ṣi to have been so familiar with, that he attributes it to the deity he worships.

अतो वयमन्तमेभिर्भुजानाः

स्वक्षत्रेभिस्तन्वः शुभमानाः ।

The Maruts assert their independent power and imply that their power has brought him to them.

Texts.

Remarks.

महो॒भिरताँ॑ उप॒ युज्महे॑ न्विन्द्र॑

स्वधा॑मनु हि नो॒ बभूथ॑ ॥

I, 165-5.

From hence united with ourself strong powers, having adorned our bodies, we now harness our fallow deer. O Indra, according to our inherent power thou hast become ours.

क॑स्या वो॒ मरुतः॑ स्व॒धासी-

द्यन्मा॑मेकं॒ सम॑धत्ताहि॒हल्ये॑ ।

अहं॑ ह्य॒ष्ट॑ वि॒स्तुवि॑ष्मान्वि-

श्वस्य॑ शत्रो॒रन॑मं वध॒न्नैः ॥

I. 165-6.

Where, O Maruts, was that power of yours that engaged me only in the killing of Abi? I indeed am the terrible, the strong, the powerful. I bent away from the blows of every enemy.

भूरि॑ च॒कर्थ॑ युज्ये॒भिर॑स्मे

स॒माने॑भिर्वृष॒भ पौ॑त्येभिः ।

*Samadhatta* should be taken in its real sense, not in the sense of 'to leave'. The power, of which the Maruts speak, joined Indra or engaged him the fight. Moreover, if Indra had accused the Maruts of deserting him, their answer (See next verse). 'Yes you have done much with our help' would be inappropriate.

The Maruts concede to Indra the position of the strongest, but still assert his need of their co-operation. By the address 'O Maruts' they

## Texts.

## Remarks.

भूरीणि॑ हि कृण॒वामा शवि॒ष्ठेन्द्र॑  
 ऋत्वा॑ मरु॒तो यद्व॑शाम ॥

imply that he is one with them.  
 (See I. 37. 5; III. 32-4.). The  
 conception and willing of their  
 deeds must belong to them all.

I. 165-7.

Thou hast achieved much with  
 us of equal power united with you,  
 O Hero! O Strongest one, Indra,  
 let us then achieve many things,  
 whatever O Maruts! we will with  
 our mind.

वर्ध॑न् वृ॒त्रं मरु॑त इन्द्रि॒येण॑  
 स्वेन॑ भा॒मेन॑ तवि॒षो बभू॑वान् ।

Here Indra clearly indicates the  
 nature of the help the Maruts give  
 him. The strength they give by  
 joining him, is his *indriyam*.

See III. 32-3.

अ॒हमे॒ता मन॑वे वि॒श्वश्चन्द्राः॑

सु॒गा अ॒पश्च॑कर॒ वज्र॑बाहुः ॥

I. 165-8.

With Indriyam, O Maruts, I slew  
 Vṛtra, having grown strong through  
 my own power; I, who hold the  
 thunderbolt in my arms, have made  
 these all-brilliant waters to flow  
 freely for man.

अनु॑त्त॒मा ते म॑घव॒न्नकि॑न्तु न  
 त्वावा॑ अ॒स्ति दे॒वता॑ वि॒द्वानः॑ ।

The Maruts praise Indra, ascrib-  
 ing to him the power of animating  
 and of knowing —

See III. 44-2.

Texts.

Remarks.

न जायमानो नशते न जातो

यानि करिष्या कृणुहि प्रवृद्ध ॥

I, 165-9.

Nothing, O Maghavan is unshaken by thee. Among the gods there is no knower like thee. No one who is now born comes near, no one who has been born. Do what thou wilt do, thou who art grown strong.

एकस्य चिन्मे विभ्वस्त्वोजो

यानु दधृष्वान्कृणवै मनीषा ।

अहं ह्युग्रो मरुतो विदानो

यानि व्यवमिन्द्र इदीश एषाम् ॥

I, 165-10.

My power alone be pervading whatever I may do daring in my mind ; I am the terrible, the knower, O Maruts, of all that I moved I am the lord.

अमन्दन्मा मरुतः स्तोमो

अत्र यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र ।

By Indra's power pervading the Maruts he will have the means of doing what he wills. The epithets *ugra*, and *vidānaḥ* indicate strength and will.

The words *tanve*, *tanūbhiḥ* are very clear and need no comment.

Professor Max Müller takes this as an idiomatic phrase, and trans-

Texts.	Remarks.
इन्द्राय॑ वृ॒ष्णे सु॑म॒खाय॒ मह्यं॑	lates, "for your own sake, and by your own efforts—"

सख्ये॒ सखाय॑स्तन्वे॒ तनू॑भिः ॥

I, 165-11.

Maruts ! now your praise has pleased me—the glorious hymn which you have made for me, O'men ! for me, for Indra—the joyful hero—friends for a friend—by the limbs for the body.

एवे॒देते॑ प्र॒ति मा॒ रोच॑माना॒

अने॒द्यः श्र॒व एषो॑ द॒धानाः॑ ।

संच॑क्ष्या॒ मह॒तश्च॒न्द्रव॑र्णा॒

अच्छा॑न्त मे छ॒द्याथा॑ च॒ नून॑न् ॥

I, 165 12.

Truly, there they are reflecting me (manifesting me) bearing blameless glory and food.

Having perceived, O Maruts ! you of bright splendour have delighted me, now cover me—

Max Müller translates the second part thus—

"O Maruts ! wherever I have looked for you, you have appeared to me in bright splendour, appear to me also now."

There does not seem to be any point in Indra asking the Maruts to appear to him when they are actually present before him.

I omit the last three difficult verses assigned to the sacrificer or *Agastya* by Max Müller as well as by tradition. The dialogue as a whole is strongly suggestive of the *prāṇasaṃvāda* of the Upaniṣads, a favourite theme illustrating the superiority of breath among the bodily functions

The sūkta starts with the question, 'What is that splendour in which the Maruts are all united, what is that will?' and the dialogue that follows in discussing the nature of the relations of the Maruts and Indra, consistently develops this theme, making it clear that he is their knower—he, the self and they, the limbs or parts—their function is to reflect him and cover him—their strength is his *indriyam*.

In his Bhāṣya, Sāyaṇa has particularly noticed this aspect of the Kayā Śubhīya Sūkta, although, as usual, he gives the naturalistic interpretation.

Thus in addition to his stormy and atmospheric attributes, Indra in the R̥g Veda was also conceived as the god who manifests *indriyam* among men—the measure of all, in whom all duties abide, in whom was centred intellectual power (*kratu*). All men turn round him like a wheel, he becomes corresponding in form to every form and that is his only form for us to look on with four and thirty lights he perceives in many ways, and performs works with his companion. He is the *eye* of all that moves and sees,—the common splendour to which the Maruts cling, the impeller and stimulator, the knower—who overcomes, sustains, and fills all that moves—pre-eminently associated with breath, strength and with generative power. Without discussing the origin of the god, we may therefore claim a place for these attributes also in the conception of Indra. Parjanya in the R̥gveda is undeniably a rain god and his wife is Pṛthivī. Indra's wife is Śacī (power). *Indriyam*, derived from his name, in whatever sense we take it, (See Pāṇini V-ii-93), is in favour of the *ādhyātmika* view of Indra as the self of man. Some passages of the R̥gveda that refer to a doubt in the existence of Indra are also peculiar to him as the soul of man. Some say that he is unseen and not understood. It is not possible to doubt the existence of the great cosmic force of storms, wind and fire, but it is, and always, has been possible for us to doubt the existence of our innermost self. The Indra of the R̥gveda, whatever his origin may have been, in his mystical essence, signifies that self, and the Maruts, in relation with him, the Vital Airs.

प्रसु॑ स्तोमं॑ भरत॑ वाज॒यन्त॑ इन्द्रा॑य स॒त्यं यदि॑ स॒त्यमस्ति॑ ।

नेन्द्रो॑ अ॒स्तीति॑ नेम॑ ऊ॒त्वाह॑ क॒ ई ददर्श॑ कम॒भि॒ष्टवाम॑ ॥



अ॒य॒म॒स्मि॒ जा॒रि॒तः प॒श्य॒ मे॒ह॒ वि॒श्व॑ जा॒ता॒न्य॒भ्य॒स्मि॒ म॒हा ।  
 ऋ॒त॒स्य॑ मा॒ प्र॒दि॒शो॑ वर्ध॒य॒न्त्या॒दि॒रो भु॒व॒ना द॑र्दरी॒मि ॥

VIII. 100. 3.

Vedic scholars point to evidences in the R̥gveda of a struggle between Indra and Varuna from which the former emerges as the national god of the Vedic Āryans—a victory that Griswold laments as “a religious tragedy of the utmost gloom and disaster.” But the rise of Indra means something more than the overthrow by a roystering swashbuckler of a god, of the grandest figure in the Vedic Pantheon, and we need not mourn with Griswold over these earliest records of a time when the God within man had begun to loom larger than the great forces without.

Indra as the self throws light upon that remarkable feature of Vedic Mythology, the dual divinity. In cases like Dyāvāpṛthivī and Sūryāmāsā we may ascribe a mythological reason to this curious coupling and explain all dual gods as a ‘casual union of like pairs suggested by these. But conceptions like Indrāpṛasṇā, Indrāsonā, Indrāgnī, Indrāvaruṇā and Indrākṛhaspatī have clearly transcended their models.

इ॒न्द्रा॒ग्नी॒ को अ॒स्य॒ वां दे॒वौ म॑र्त॒श्चि॒के॒त॒ति ।  
 वि॒षू॒चो अ॒श्वान्यु॒यु॒जान॒ ई॒य॒त॒ एकः॑ स॒मान॒ आ॒रथे॑ ॥

VI. 59. 5.

व॒ज्रेणान्य॑ श॒वसा॑ ह॒न्ति वृ॒त्रं सि॒ष॒क्य॒न्यो वृ॒जने॑षु॒ वि॒प्रः ॥

VI. 68. 3. Indrā Varuṇā.

Indra forms one in more than half these dual formations, and is thus celebrated in 33 entire hymns besides being invoked as one of a pair in many detached verses. (See *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonell p. 126).

These dual formations may be explained as due to the Brahman-Ātman idea, if we regard Indra as the self of man, and admit the influence of that idea in the R̥gvedic thought.

In the light of the *ādhyātmika* view of Indra as the self, the interpretations of the vedic gods and their Purāṇic representatives are full of significance, discovering the living connections of vedic thought with the popular religion of the epics and Purāṇas. We do not realize how little there is, apart from the externals of their presentation, that is foreign to the vedic religion even in the Puarāṇic gods of Hinduism. The following facts and coincidences are interesting.

1. Indra is called *Urvarāpati*—Rv. VIII-21-3.

(Lord of *Sitā* in P.G.S.)—

In a Ṛgvedic hymn IV-57 verses 6 and 7 glorify *Sitā* (field furrow). In verses 5 and 8 of the same *sūkta* two deities *Śena* and *Sīra* are mentioned. *Sāyaṇa* explains them as Indra and *Vāyu*, or as *Vāyu* and *Āditya*. The *Bṛhaddevata* (v. 8) mentions *Yāska* as identifying *Śunāsira* with Indra, (although *Yāska* himself in the *nirukta* seems to agree with *Sāyaṇa*'s explanation of these gods as *Vāyu* and the Sun) and *Śākapiṇi* as indentifying them with *Sūrya* and Indra.

*Śunāsira* is one of the later names of Indra, and *Sīra* means plough. *Sitā* (the furrow) is the wife of *Rāma*, the incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. Also of. Indra-*Indirā*-wife of *Viṣṇu*.

2. The *cakra* is mentioned in the Ṛgveda as one of Indra's weapons—The *cakra* is the weapon of *Viṣṇu* in the Epics.

3. Indra in the Ṛgveda is connected with *Pañcajanāḥ* and is often called *Pāñcajanyaḥ*.

*Viṣṇu*'s conch is called *Pāñcajanyaḥ*—

(Note the *ādhyātmika* explanation of *Pañcajanāḥ* as the five senses—The other explanations are not so satisfactory that we can completely ignore this one.)

4. In the story that forms the main plot of the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna, the favourite disciple of *Kṛṣṇa*, is allegorically explained as the *Jīva* to whom *Īśvara* expounds the *Bhagavad Gīta* on the mystic field of *Kurukṣetra*. Arjuna is an old name of Indra, and in the Epic itself he is Indra's Son—

Also—Indra—*indriyam*—*Hṛṣīkeśa*-name of *Viṣṇu* (Lord of senses.)

5. Weber remarks that in the 3rd *adhyāya* of the *Kauṣī. Upan.* Indra is represented "battling with the same powers of nature that

Arjuna in the Epic subdues as evil demons. (History of Indian Literature, p. 50.)

6. *Indra* in the *Ṛgveda* is intimately connected with the Maruts, *Rudra* in the *Ṛgveda* is the father of the Maruts, and is called by names peculiar to *Indra* and rarely, if ever, given to any other God-*Vajrabāhu*, *Suśipra-Pururūpa*, and, in the *Atharva Veda Sahasrākṣa*,

7. In *manyu*, 'a personification suggested chiefly by the fierce anger of *Indra*' given by Maruts and slayer of *Vṛtra*, we have another element in the conception of *Rudra Śiva*.

8. *Indra* in the *Ṛgveda* is frequently called the Dancer. (VIII, 24-9-12; 57-7; etc). *Śiva* is the great dancer *māhānaṭa*-*Naṭarāja*-*Naṭeśa*.

9. Also compare the preponderance of *Vṛṣatvam* and *Vṛṣabhatvam* in the conception of *Indra*, with the Phallus worship connected with *Śiva* in later Hinduism, and his names *Vṛṣadhvaj* *Vṛṣāñcana*. See also for a connecting link A.V. XI-5-12 (quoted above) where *Indra*, conceived as a *Brahmasārin clad in a black antelope skin*, is explicitly connected with generative power. And *Śiva* the object of Phallus worship is also in the *Purāṇas* the great ascetic कृत्तिवासाः.

Although creation is ascribed to him also in the *Ṛgveda*, *Indra*'s relation to the Creator *Brahma* is less apparent, because his attributes as the self or spirit of man are more active than passive, and the Creator of the Hindu Triad retains much of the inactivity of his philosophical namesake. He has therefore greater affinity with the *Ṛgvedic Varuṇa*, whose four faces, mentioned in one hymn (R.V. V-48-5) have been perpetuated in the aspect of *Brahma the Creator*.

If *Indra* in the *Ṛgveda* is not the Self, but merely a nature god of storm, thunder or fire, who had captured the imaginations of a primitive fighting people, the intimate connection with him in the *Ṛgveda* of the gods who afterwards became the active partners of the Hindu Triad as Preserver and Destroyer of the universe, loses all historical and religious significance. So also without this clue, the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣadic* developments of Vedic religion-the philosophy that centres round the *Brahman-Ātman* concept, the sacrificial system that absorbed that philosophy and gives *Indra* so prominent a place, all becomes a troubled make wherein the historical student wanders and is lost.

## KUNTAKA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE THEORIES OF DHVANI AND RASA.

DR. K. A. SANKARAN, M.A., Ph. D.

*Professor of Sāhitya and Philology, Sanskrit College, Madras.*

Kuntaka or Kuntala as he is otherwise referred to, is the well-known author of the '*Vakroktijīvitā*', the first two chapters of which have been published in the Calcutta Oriental Series. He flourished during the period that followed Ānandavardhana when his theory that Dhvani or suggestion comprehending also Rasa is the ultimate source of poetic appeal did not meet with universal approval and when it was attacked by representatives of the older schools as well as by fresh theorists. Pratihārendurāja endeavoured to read the concept of Dhvani into alaṅkāras like *Paryāyokta*, *Śleṣa* and *Rasavad*. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Dhanika denied the existence of Dhvani, but instead, put forward the conceptions of *bhāvakatva* and *bhojakatva*. Mahimabhaṭṭa vigorously held that suggestion is only a peculiar kind of inference called *Kāvyaṇumiti* which is of the nature of immediate inference. It was during this time, i.e., c. 1000, A.D. that Kuntaka appeared in the field with his view that Poetry is well-matched form and content—where sounds beautifully vie with sounds and ideas with ideas—set in the composition of the poet whose activity deviates from the general mode (of activity involved in the writing of philosophical or scientific treatises) and which (the composition) gives that aesthetic pleasure to those who know its true nature. (V.J. I, 8). This activity consists in the use of clever turns of expressions called *Vakrokti* (V.J. I, 11). It is attempted here to indicate briefly the attitude of the exponent of this novel method of criticism towards the theories of Dhvani and Rasa.

Though belonging to a different school of critical thought, Kuntaka fully recognises the individuality of Dhvani (suggestion and suggested element) in poetry and also its contribution to aesthetic pleasure. V. J. Chap. I, pp. 42-44.

पुनर्विचित्रमेव प्रकारान्तरेण लक्षयति—

यत्रान्यथाभवत्सर्वमन्यथैव यथारुचि ।

भान्यते प्रतिभोल्लेखमहत्त्वेन महाकवेः ॥

कविना नूतनत्वेन यदुल्लिखितं तदतीव प्रतीयमानमहत्वव्यक्तिपरत्वेन  
चमत्कारकारितां प्रतिपद्यते ।

विचित्रमेव प्रकारान्तरेणोन्मीलयति—

प्रतीयमानता यत्र काव्यार्थस्य निबध्यते ।

वाच्यवाचकवृत्तिभ्यां व्यतिरिक्तस्य वस्तुनः ॥

एष च प्रतीयमानव्यवहारः वाक्यवक्रताव्याख्यानावसरे सुतरां  
समुन्मील्यते ।

While refusing the dignity of *Alaṅkāra* to *Parivṛtti* in the third chapter, he would treat it as *Alaṅkārya* (that which is to be adorned) involving suggestion which is always delectable. He agrees at the same time with the threefold classification of the suggested ideas into *Vastu*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Rasa*. V. J. \* Chap. III, P. 167 :—

न तु परिवृत्तेः अत्यन्ताभावः अस्माभिरभिधीयते; वर्णनीयत्वादलंकृतिर्न  
भवतीत्यस्माकमभिप्रायः । न च प्रतीयमानतामात्रमलंकरणत्वसाधनं, अलं  
कार्यवस्तुमात्रेऽपि तस्याः सम्भवात् । तथा चैतदेवोदाहरणम् । न च प्रतीयमानं  
तदलंकरणं तद्विदाह्यादकारित्वादिति युज्यते वक्तुम्, अलंकार्येऽपि तद्विदाहा-  
दकारित्वदर्शनात्; वस्तुमात्रं, अलंकाराः रसादयश्चेति त्रितयोपपत्तेश्च ।

See Dhvanyāloka, (Kāvya-mālā Edition), P. 15.

*Paryāya Vakratū* where words with a double meaning are used to lead to the suggestion of some metaphor or simile is expressly stated by him to fall within the province of a particular variety of Dhvani called *Śabdaśaktimūlādhvani* and he even cites the same illustrations given by Ānandavardhana. (Dhv. pp. 99, 127). V.J. Chap. II, pp. 75-76.

पर्यायवक्रतां पुष्पाति । यस्मादेवंविधे विषये प्रस्तुतस्य अप्रस्तुतेन सम्बन्धो-  
पनिबन्धः रूपकच्छायासंस्पर्शात् गौर्वाहीक इत्यनेन न्यायेन सादृश्यानिबन्धनस्योप-  
चारस्य सम्भवद्वारेण कदाचिदुपमामुखेन वा । यथा—स एवायं स इवायमिति  
वा । एष शब्दशक्तिमूलानुरणनरूपव्यङ्ग्यस्य पदध्वनेर्विषयः ।

\* References to the *Vakroktijivita*, chapters III and IV are to the pages in the manuscript deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

बहुषु चैवाविधेषु सत्सु वाक्यध्वनेर्वा । यथा—

“ कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्तुत्फुल्लमीलिकाट्टहासो व्यजृम्भत ग्रीष्माभिधानो महाकालः ”

यथा—“ वृत्तेऽस्मिन्महाप्रलये धरणीधारणायधुना त्वं शेषः ” इति

अत्र युगादयः शब्दाः प्रस्तुताभिधानपरत्वेन प्रयुज्यमानाः सन्तोऽप्यप्रस्तुतवस्तुप्रतीतिकारितया कामपि काव्यच्छायां समुन्मीलयन्तः प्रतीयमानालंकारव्यपदेशभाजनं भवन्ति ।

*Upacāravakratā* enlivens many *alaṅkāras* like *Rūpaka* etc. (V. J. p. 83). These are dealt with in the third chapter. Many of them are twofold, express and suggested. 'Suggested *Rūpaka*' is illustrated by a verse of Ānanda cited by him also as an instance of *Rūpakadhvani*. (V.J. III, p. 142, Dhv. p. 110).

प्रतीयमानं (रूपकं) यथा—

लावण्यकान्तिपरिपूरितदिङ्मुखेऽस्मिन् etc.

अत्र त्वन्मुखमिन्दुः इति रूपकं प्रतीयमानतया कविनोपनिबद्धम् ।

Suggested *Upamā* covers many *alaṅkāras* like *Dīpaka*, *nidarśana* etc. Suggested difference (*Vyatireka*) is also admitted and justified by a reference to Ānanda's definition of Dhvani. V.J. chap. III, pp. 174-5.

व्यतिरेकमाभिधत्ते—

शब्दः प्रतीयमानो वा व्यतिरेकोभिधीयते ॥

तदिदमुक्तम्—यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ

See. Dhv. p. 83.

In the first *kārikā* of the third chapter, the term '*Vakrasābda*' and not '*Vācaksābda*' is used in order to show that description is possible not only through express words but also through suggestive words and suggested ideas. V.J. chap. III, p. 98.



वाक्यवक्रता—

\* उदारस्वपरिस्पन्दसुन्दरत्वेन वर्णनम् ।

वस्तुनो वक्रशब्दैकगोचरत्वेन वक्रता ॥

वक्रशब्दैकगोचरत्वेनेति—वक्रो योसौ नानाविधवक्रताविशिष्टः शब्दः काश्चिदेव वाचकविशेषः विवक्षितार्थसमर्पणसमर्थस्यैव एकस्य केवलस्य गोचरत्वेन प्रतिपाद्यतया विशेषणत्वेन । वाच्यत्वेनेति नोक्तः, व्यङ्ग्यत्वेनापि प्रतिपादनसम्भवात् ।

Thus Kuntaka never denies the general concept of *Dhvani* nor does he include it under *Bhakti* (meaning *Lakṣaṇā*) or *Upacāra*. (See *Contra*, Dr. S. K. De, V. J. Intro., pp. 27-29). As the function of *Dhvani* agrees with that of *Vācakaśabda* and *Vācārtha* in the expression of the speaker's intention, *Vyañjakaśabda* and *Vyaṅgyārtha* are called by courtesy, *Vācakaśabda* and *Vācārtha*. (V.J. chap. I, p. 14).

ननु द्योतकव्यञ्जकावपि शब्दौ संभवतः; तदसंग्रहज्ञ काव्याव्याप्तिः, यस्मादर्थप्रतीतिकारित्वसामान्यात्तावपि वाचकावेव; एवं द्योत्यव्यङ्ग्ययोरर्थयोः प्रत्येयत्वसामान्यादुपचाराद्वाच्यत्वमेव ।

His attitude towards *Rasa* also is not antagonistic. Picture of the doings of Gods, demi-gods and men animated by the sweet *Rasas* like love forms the principal function of the poet. V. J. chap. III, pp. 107-8.

मुख्यं सुरासुरादिसत्कवीनां वर्णनास्पदम् ।

भवत्यक्लिष्टरत्यादिपरिपोषमनोहरम् ॥

The dignity of *alaṅkāra* is denied to *Rasavad*, *Preyas*, *Ūrjasvi* and *Samāhita* as conceived by earlier writers, for these like *Soabhāvokti* form the subject of treatment or *Alaṅkārya* (V.J. chap. I, pp. 21-23.)

अलंकारकृतां येषां स्वभावोक्तिरलंकृतिः ।

अलंकार्यतया तेषां किमन्यदवतिष्ठते ॥

.....ते सुकुमारमानसत्वाद्विवेकेशद्वेषिणः

\* This *kārikā* and others cited below are mostly tentative reconstructions from the prose-*Vṛtti*.

अलंकारो न रसवद्वर्ण्यमानस्य वस्तुनः ।  
स्वरूपादतिरिक्तस्यापरस्याप्रतिभासनात् ॥

Chap. III, p. 113.

\*अन्यत्रादर्शनादप्युपमादेरिव च क्वचित् ।  
नालंकरणतायुक्ताविभूषणत्वात्प्रेयसः ॥

Ibid. p. 123.

एवमलंकरणतां प्रेयसः प्रत्यादिश्य तदेकरूपाणामन्येषां प्रत्यादिशति—

ऊर्जस्व्युदात्ताभिधयोः पौर्वापर्यप्रणीतयोः ।  
अलंकरणयोस्तद्भूषणत्वं न विद्यते ॥

Ibid. p. 124.

उदाहरणमेवोर्जितम् [ The instance of ऊर्जस्वि cited by Bhāmaha ]  
तदेवमयं प्रधानचेतनलक्षणोपाकृतातिशयविशिष्टचित्तवृत्तिविशेषवस्तुस्वभाव एव  
मुख्यतया वर्ण्यमानत्वादलंकार्यः न पुनरलंकारः । तद्धीदमुक्तं “उदार” इति ।  
तस्मादेवंविधस्य चित्तवृत्तिविशेषत्वात् रसभावतदाभासानां यथायोगमेकस्मिन्निव-  
क्षावशादन्तर्भावः सम्भवतीति अलंकार्यत्वमेव युक्तं न पुनरलंकरणभाव इति ।

Ibid. p. 126.

एवं समाहितस्यापि अलंकार्यत्वमेव न्याय्यं न पुनरलंकरणभावः

Ibid. III, p. 129.

Here the definitions and illustrations of these alankāras given by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa are severely criticised and Udbhaṭa is ridiculed for his inconsistency in being an ardent follower of Bharata and at the same time accepting Ūrjasvi to be an alankāra. Udbhaṭa is further sneered at for holding that Rasas could be realised through express reference to their names. V.J. p. 115.

तत्र स्वशब्दास्पदत्वं रसादीनामपरिगतपूर्वमस्माकं ततस्तत एव रससर्व-  
स्वसमाहितचेतनाः तत्परमार्थविदः विद्वांस एव प्रष्टव्याः—

Here Kuntaka accepts the view of Ānandavardhana ably set forth in the Dhvanyāloka, pp. 24-26. He then enunciates his peculiar conception of *Rasavad*, which, being the life of all alankāras, forms the very essence of poetry. That is *Rasavad* which by its inspiring the poetic theme, equals Rasa and contributes to the delectation of those who know its true nature. V.J. chap. III, p. 131.

\* This may well be reconstructed thus:—

[अदर्शनादपिचान्यत्रोपमादेरिव क्वचित् । नालंकरणता युक्ता प्रेयसस्त्वविभूषणात् ॥ ? Ed.]

नूतनातिशयविधायिनः काव्यस्वरूपस्यालंकारास्ततः तानुपक्रमते—

यथा स रसवन्नाम सर्वालंकारजीवितम् ।

काव्यैकसारतां याति तथेदानीं विविच्यते ॥

तमेवरसवदलंकारं लक्षयति रसेनेत्यादि—

रसेन वर्तते तुल्यं रसवत्त्वविधानतः ।

स रसवदलंकारस्तद्विदाह्लादनिर्मितेः ॥

The verse चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं etc. (Śākuntala, Act I.) illustrates this principle. Here the love of Duṣyanta to Śākuntalā is developed through the mischievous, though innocent, play of the bee about her body. The poet instead of expressing directly Duṣyanta's feelings at the sight of Śākuntalā leaves it to be understood from his jealousy towards the lucky bee that enjoyed the person of his love. This alaṅkāra shines brighter than all others like the diadem on the head. V.J. chap. III, p. 131.

यथा—चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं etc. अत्र परमार्थः—प्रधानवृत्तेः शृङ्गारस्य भ्रमरसमारोपितकान्तवृत्तान्तः रसवदलंकारः शोभातिशयमाहितवान् ।

अयं सरसवतां सर्वालंकाराणां चूडामणिरिवाभाति ।

*Prakaraṇavakratā* or the change introduced by the poet in the incidents of the traditional plot is justified only as contributing to the easy and natural development of Rasa. V. J. chap. IV, p. 195.

एवमेषां महाकविप्रबन्धेषु प्रकरणवक्रताविच्छिन्तिः रसनिष्यन्दिनी सद्दयैः स्वयमुत्प्रेक्षणीया ।

इमामेव प्रकारान्तरेण प्रकाशयति—

इतिवृत्तप्रयुक्तेषु कथावैचित्र्यवर्त्मनि ।

उत्पाद्यलवलावण्यादन्यावगतिवक्रता ॥

...यथा प्रबन्धस्य सकलस्यापि जीवितम् ।

भाति प्रकरणं काष्ठाधिरूढरसनिर्भरम् ॥

This is illustrated by the Kautsa incident in the fifth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* and also by the curse of Durvāsas in the *Śākuntala*. As is well known, Kālidāsa has introduced the curse of that proverbially

wrathful sage in the fourth Act to exonerate Dugyanta from his otherwise wilful, cowardish, criminal and monsterlike repudiation of his lawfully wedded spouse. Quite unlike the amazon, with her seven year old boy, arguing out her case like an able lawyer before the king's court as represented in the Mahābhārata story, Śakuntalā's appearance and later repudiation in her full pregnancy heightens the pathos of the situation. Another variety of *Prakaranavakratā* is one where the dominant rasa is developed to that climax in a particular act or scene which is not attained either before or after. V. J. chap. IV, p. 212.

पुनरप्यस्याः प्रभेदमुद्भावयति—

यत्राङ्गिरसनिष्यन्दनिकषः कोपि लक्ष्यते ।

पूर्वोत्तरैरसंपाद्यः साङ्कादेः कापि वक्रता ॥

In illustration he cites the beginning of the fourth Act of the *Vikramorvaśīya* where the appearance of Purūravas on the stage deeply infatuated with love for Ūrvaśī, searching whom, he addresses even inanimate objects, develops love to that climax which is nowhere reached throughout the play. Similarly the terrible wrestling between Lord Śiva and Arjuna in the *Kīrātārjunīya* marks the height of the development of Vīra. It is indeed a stroke of genius that a single *Rasa karuṇa* or pathos is developed and sustained throughout the play, *Tāpasavatsarāja* without any feeling of satiety whatsoever. V. J. chap. IV, p. 202.

अस्या एव प्रकारान्तरं प्रकाशयति—

प्रतिप्रकरणं प्रौढप्रतिभाभोगयोजितः ।

एक एवाभिधेयात्मा बध्यमानः पुनः पुनः ॥

नत्वसौ पुनरुक्तपात्रतामासादयतीत्याह—

अन्यूननूतनोल्लेख रसालंकरणोज्ज्वलः ।

बध्नाति वक्रतोद्भेदभङ्गीमुद्भाविताद्भुताम् ॥

In short it is by the development of the sweet and delectable Rasas that creations of poets live and not by the clever narration of the story V. J. chap. IV, p. 197.

निरन्तररसोद्धारगर्भसन्दर्भसुन्दराः ।

गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥

*Prabandhavakratā* consists in the abandonment of the dominant Rasa of the original story in favour of another which imparts life, beauty and delectableness to the plot. V. J. chap. VI, p. 219.

एवमनेकप्रकारां प्रकरणवक्रतां प्रतिपाद्य समुदायात्मकस्य प्रबन्धस्यापि  
तामभिदधाति—

इतिवृत्तान्यथावृत्तरससंपदुपेक्षया ।

रसान्तरेण रम्येण यत्र निर्वहणं भवेत् ॥

तस्या एव कथामूर्तरामूलोन्मीलितश्रियः ।

विषयानन्दानिष्पत्यै सा प्रबन्धस्य वक्रता ॥

In the *Veṅṇisaṁhāra* the main Rasa, Śānta or absolute renunciation is abandoned and Vira is developed. Similarly in the *Uttararāmacarita* Bhavabhūti has allowed the pathos of the Rāmāyaṇa to culminate in a certain spiritual union between Rāma and Sītā at the end. Lastly Kuntaka agrees with Ānandavardhana in thinking that the culminating Rasa of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata is Śānta or absolute renunciation. “रामायणमहाभारतयोश्च क्षान्ताङ्गित्वं पूर्वसूरिभिरेव निरूपितम्” V. J. chap. IV, p. 221 Dhv. 238.

Thus it is seen that Kuntaka in his extraordinary conceit, unsparingly criticises and ridicules the views of old writers like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, but professes some respect for Ānandavardhana. In fact the teachings of Ānanda have such a strong hold over him that he perforce includes the different principles in the Rasa and Dhvani theories under one or other of the various species of *Vakratā*. There is some truth in the remarks of Mahimabhaṭṭa that Kuntaka makes the same classifications and cites identical illustrations as those of Davanikāra and also great reason in his identification of *Vakrokti* with Dhvani for purposes of his attacks on the former. (*Vyaktiviveka*, p. 28). His is an attempt to widen the scope of the old term *Vakrokti* so as to include the results of further thinking and make it almost synonymous with everything that constitutes poetry. Naturally enough, Dhvani and Rasa were not denied but were given a distinct and honoured place in the scheme of *Vakratā*.

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE UNĀDI SŪTRAS

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A. (HONS.),  
Research Student, University of Madras.

### PART I.

The authorship of the Unādi Sūtras has long been the subject of keen controversy among scholars in the line. Dr. Goldstucker has opined that the Unādi Sūtras, as commented upon by Ujvaladatta, form a later work, while the Unādi list should be ascribed to Pāṇini. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (p. 25) says on the authority of Vimalasarasvatī, in his *Rūpamālā*, and of Durgasihma, in his *Kātantra Vṛtti*, that Vararuci alias Kātyāyana should have been the author of the Unādi Sūtras. Professor K. B. Pathak, B.A., opines that we should attribute the authorship of the Unādi Sūtras to Pāṇini himself (*vide Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IV, pages 111 to 136). Before entering into a detailed discussion of the merits of each of the above views, it is proposed to present the view of this paper with arguments in its favour.

The sūtra which has given rise to all such discussions is उणादयो बहुलम् (III.iii.1). The meaning of the Sūtra is 'the suffixes beginning with' Un 'occur variably after roots in the present tense to form a noun.' It should be noted at the outset that the term Unādi is a peculiar one used in the sense in which it has been understood. In the whole of the Aṣṭādhyāyī the word आदि invariably indicates what is called a Gaṇapāṭha or Dhātupāṭha or any collection of suffixes mentioned in the Aṣṭādhyāyī itself. It needs no saying that the term in question does indicate none of the three above subjects, and we have to rely upon the commentators for the meaning in which we have to understand the term. But modern scholars would accept the commentators only so far and not further; for they ascribe the Unādis to an author other than Pāṇini. Nāgeśa clearly says that they are of Śākaṭiyan's authorship. We shall refer to this point later on. The fact is that there is no tradition ascribing the authorship of the Unādi Sūtras to Pāṇini. In the absence of such a tradition, and in view of the fact of the peculiarity of the meaning of the term उणादि, we have to search for an author anterior to Pāṇini, who the commentators say, should have



been Śākaṭāyana in accordance with the tradition of his advocacy of the *Vyutpatti pakṣa* of words. Further, Pāṇini who has taken pains to expound an independent system of Grammar in as many as eight adhyāyas containing nearly four thousand sūtras, could have included, if he were really the author, the Upādi Sūtras also in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself. There seems to be no reasonable ground—nobody has yet advanced—for his not having done so.

The word बहुलम् in the sūtra is very significant. It forms one of the devices resulting from observing the law of parsimony. The word occurs in many places in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, used by Pāṇini to denote the variability of a rule or a set of rules. The purpose of this device of variability is to avoid the necessity of dealing with the examples to which those rules apply, in detail. That is to say, when the application of a rule is said to be variable with regard to a set of examples, these examples will not be dealt with any further. Here also the word बहुलम् should be taken in that sense. There is no authentic ground to take it in any other sense. If the variability is accepted, then Pāṇini should be taken to mean that he is not going to advert to the topic any further. It naturally follows from this that Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Upādi Sūtras.

Secondly, the word बहुलम् has some further significances. This device of variability is generally resorted to by Pāṇini only with regard to the rules that have already been enunciated. There is no reference to Upādis in any sūtra previous to this. Or, if it is said that he is having in his mind the Upādi Sūtras he is enunciating, or has enunciated, and that in order to make them variable he frames this Sūtra, it can be pointed out that in so far as he resorts to compile a separate work for the sake of Upādis, that work alone would have been a fit place for a discussion of the variability or otherwise of the Upādis. There is no necessity at all for referring to them here or to their variability. Further the word 'bahulam' suggests that the Upādis he knew of are not variables. It is really inconsistent to have enunciated a set of fixed suffixes and also, a definite set of rules governing their applicability, and then to declare them as variables without definitely stating the cases where they should be so considered; and to attribute this fault of inconsistency to no less a sage than Pāṇini could not but be the height of absurdity to which human imagination could be stretched. Further,

a consideration of the rule III-iv-74 will testify to the truth of the above remark. By this sūtra, Pāṇini regularises words like 'bhīma'. This device of regularisation is resorted to by Pāṇini in the case of words which do not admit of any regular formation according to the rules he has enunciated. So, it follows that words like 'bhīma' are irregular formations, and by the rule above referred to, Pāṇini seeks to regularise them. The Kāśikā—an authoritative Commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī—has it that words like 'bhīma' are Unādi formations. If Pāṇini had really been the author of the Unādi Sūtras there is no sense in framing a sūtra for regularising them. The fact is that he is not the author of the Unādis, and so he considers words like 'bhīma' to be irregular.

Now then, the fact of Pāṇini's reference to the Unādis in two places in his Aṣṭādhyāyī, shows that there should have been some sort of relation between the Unādis and himself; and this relation, it is submitted as a natural conclusion arising from the above arguments, should have been not one of authorship, but that of close acquaintance.

The three verses commented on by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya under the sūtra III-iii-1 could be shown to prove the truth of the above conclusion. The first verse runs as follows :—

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।

कार्यसंशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरुढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥

and is introduced by Patañjali with these words :— बहुलग्रहणं किमर्थम् which show that what follows is only explanatory to the word 'bahulam' in the sūtra. The whole purport of the verse is that there is an imperfect collection of Unādi suffixes, and the word 'bahulam' is intended to validate such suffixes, provided such Unādi formations are sanctioned by vaidik and classical usage; and as is explained by Kaiyaṭa, the only aim of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is to expound the validity of all words sanctioned by vaidik and classical usage. Kaiyaṭa says thus :—(Mahābhāṣya Vol. II, III adhyāya, page 216, Benares edition).

अपरिपूर्णा हि पूर्णत्वं बहुलग्रहणेन क्रियत इति, नैगमरुढिभवानां व्याकरणेऽस्मिन् व्युत्पादनादसंदिग्धं साधुत्वमवगम्यते इत्यर्थः ॥

The passage means that as this Vyākaraṇa deals with the derivations of all vaidik and classical words, the validity or soundness of all words, if they are used in the Vedic Texts and by current society, is an established

fact, and that if this is so, it needs no saying that such Upādi formations are also sound; and his authority for such a presumption, it is needless to point out, is none other than Patañjali himself (*vide* his opening lines of the Mahābhāṣya). Consistently with what Kaiyaṭa says in introducing the sūtra (page 215, *ibid*)

उणादय इत्येव सूत्रम्, उणादीनां शास्त्रान्तरपरिपठितानां साधुत्वानुज्ञानार्थमस्त्विति भावः ।

and consistently with the questions with which Patañjali introduces the last quarter of the first verse we can't help coming to the conclusion that the author of the verse does not presuppose Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Upādi Sūtras.

And the second verse which runs as follows :

नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।  
यत्र पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥

is introduced by Patañjali with the following prefatory remarks :

नैगमाश्च रूढिभवाश्चौणादिकाः सुसाधवः कथं स्युः?

which suggest that the two authors referred to in the verse are cited as authority for Pāṇini's validating the 'aupādika' formations by the device of बहुलप्रहणं, in the sūtra III-iii-1. Consequently, the conclusion forces itself upon us that Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Upādi Sūtras. It may be argued that Patañjali's remarks could be understood in a different way. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that in the verse itself there is a reference only to two authors who have dealt with the question of the Upādīs. There is a special reference to a Vaiyākaraṇa while there is no mention of Pāṇini. Further, there is a general rule laid down with regard to the Upādi formations not dealt with by those authors. This general rule would be appropriate if the name of Pāṇini also had been mentioned in the context. Without such a reference, the enunciation of a general rule could not but be significant of the fact that Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Upādi Sūtras is but an illusion.

It is peculiar to note that in the third verse,

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्चततः परे ।  
कार्याद्विद्यादनुबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥

we are once more introduced to a rule to be observed in the regard to Unādi formations. In view of the rule stated in the second half of the second verse, this should of course be a repetition. But it has a different purpose in view, which is, as the meaning of the verse shows, to point out where and how such rule of inference is to be applied. We are asked to infer from the words as we find them used, the radical base, the suffix and the indicatory 'it'. It is here significant to note that we are asked to infer the indicatory 'it'—of course Pāṇiniyan, governing the operation of the suffix which is also to be inferred. This part of the rule could not but be significant of the fact that the author of the verse whoever he may be, is eager to bring the Unādi formations within the scope of the Pāṇiniyan *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Consequently, it needs no saying that in the opinion of that author Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Unādi Sūtras. And this is the very reason why all commentators on Pāṇini from Kātyāyana downwards refer to the Unādi Sūtras as though they form part and parcel of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and discuss the derivation of Unādi formations in the light of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Again, one and all of the commentators have clearly stated that the Unādi Sūtras do not form part of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but form a different Śāstra. We have already referred to what Kaiyaṭa says, (*vide ante* pages 55 and 56). Haradatta, the author of a lucid commentary on the Kāśikā called Padamañjarī, holds the same view. Under the sūtra III-iii-1 in the opening lines of his commentary, he says (Vol. I, p. 662, Benares edition) :

पुनः संज्ञायामित्यत, उणादय इत्येव सूत्रम्, उणादीनां शास्त्रान्तरपरिपठितानां साधुत्वानुज्ञानार्थमस्तु, किं बहुलग्रहणेनेत्याह ॥

Let us refer to what Nāgeśa has to say on the above subject. In commenting upon Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* under the sūtra above referred to, he says, (*Mahābhāṣyapradīpodyota*, p. 676, Bibliotheca Indica) :—

पाणिनेस्तु तान्यव्युत्पन्नानीत्येवेति भावः । इदं च 'आयनेयी'ति सूत्रे भाष्ये स्पष्टम् । एवं च कृवापेत्युणादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम् ॥

He again emphasises his view in his *Laghuśabdendusekhara* under the same sūtra thus (Chow. S.S. p. 490).

उणादयो ॥ अत्रोणादिशब्देन व्याकरणान्तरप्रसिद्धपञ्चपाद्युक्ता एव  
नाष्टाभ्यायीस्थाः ॥

and establishes in a lengthy discussion pp. 485 to 488 that Pāṇini could not have been the author.

Jñānendra Sarasvatī, the author of *Tattva Bodhinī*, also says that Uṇādi Sūtras form a different work altogether. (*Vide* p. 566, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition). We shall refer to what he says in full in the second part of this paper.

Thus it could be seen that all the commentators are of the unanimous opinion that the Uṇādi Sūtras could not be of Pāṇiniyan authorship.

That Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras could be inferred from the following evidence also. Kātyāyana, the traditional author of the Vārtikas, frames the following Vārtika to get certain formations not coming under the scope of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* :— (P. 557, *Mahābhāṣya* Vol. II, N. S. edn.)

अन्नवधकगात्रविचक्षणजिराद्यर्थम् ॥

Here the word अजिर also is included in the list. The very same word is derived by the Uṇādi Sūtra, I-56. A critical understanding of the Vārtika should convince any one of the fact that either the framer of the Vārtika should have been ignorant of the existence of the particular Uṇādi Sūtra, or as Haradatta and after him Nāgeśa suggest, that he did not treat the author of the particular Uṇādi Sūtra with authority because of recentness. So it follows that in their opinion neither Śākaṭāyana nor Pāṇini was the author of the particular Uṇādi Sūtra. The full import of the Vārtika will be pointed out when we settle the authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras. It is enough for us to understand that Pāṇini could not be supposed to have been the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras.

Thus, it will be seen that the mention of the word 'bahulam' with the object of validating all Uṇādi formations in the sūtra III-iii-1, a reference to authors who have dealt with the Uṇādi formations and the enunciation of a rule to be observed with regard to the Uṇādi formations not dealt with by them, without any mention of Pāṇini in the three verses commented on by Patañjali, the unanimous opinion of the commentators and the Vārtika of Kātyāyana above referred to, all go to show that Pāṇini could not be said to have been the author of the Uṇādi Sūtra.

So much about Pāṇini not being the author of the Unādi Sūtras. The question of the authorship of the existing Unādi Sūtras has however to be settled definitely. As has already been pointed out we have to agree with the commentators that Śākaṭāyana must have been the author of the Unādi Sūtras. But we can accept the above statement only with certain reservations. The existing list of the Unādi Sūtras could not be wholly ascribed to Śākaṭāyana's authorship. He should have been, so to say, the originator of what are called the Unādis. It is a matter of common knowledge to scholars in the line, that the Unādi Sūtras as we have them now, should have undergone a process of supplementation even so late as Ujjvaladatta. This could be inferred from three notable facts.

Firstly, the verses above referred to as commented on by Patañjali under III-iii-1 show how he viewed the subject of Unādis. He says that the principles governing the Unādi Śāstra are to be inferred. And consistently with the above view, he gives some illustrations of Unādi suffixes which are not found in the extant list of the Unādi Sūtras. (*Vide Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 91, N. S. edition). The above two facts should naturally lead to the conclusion that according to Patañjali, there has been, no accepted work as the *Unādi Sūtras* in the form of a Śāstra laying down in a comprehensive way all the Unādi suffixes that Patañjali knew of. Further, he says that they have been gradually made into a collection, by a process of inference. Whether this collection was of Śākaṭāyana's authorship, we could not definitely say. But this much is certain, that as has already been pointed out, we could take it that Śākaṭāyana must have been the author of certain Unādi Sūtras consistently with the tradition recorded by Patañjali that Śākaṭāyana was the advocate of the *Vyutpatti pakṣa*, (व्युत्पत्तिपक्ष), viz., that all words should be derived from roots.

Secondly, the mention of the word अजिर in the Vārtika above referred to (*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 557, N. S. edn.) presumes two facts. The particular Unādi Sūtra did not belong to Śākaṭāyana or Pāṇini as to be treated with authority and it was of so recent an origin as could be neglected by the framer of the particular Vārtika. In view of the fact of the commentators Haradatta and Nāgeśa having accepted the tradition that Śākaṭāyana was the author of Unādis, their remarks should show that in their opinion there have been additions to the original list of the Unādi Sūtras as expounded by Śākaṭāyana.

Thirdly, the frequent remarks of Ujjvaladatta in his *Upādi Sūtra Vṛtti* as :—this sūtra or this group of sūtras are considered अनार्षे not only by himself but also by the Nyāsakāra or some recognised writer on Grammar, which we have no strength of conviction to question, could not but be indicative of the fact that the Upādi Sūtras have undergone a process of supplementation.

Thus, from the above arguments, it may not be difficult for scholars to concede that the Upādi Sūtras as we have them now, are the result of additions to the Upādi Sūtras of Śākaṭāyana, made now and then by grammatical writers after Pāṇini. That is to say, the Upādi Sūtras are ante-Pāṇiniyan and post-Pāṇiniyan, but never Pāṇiniyan, so far as their authorship is concerned.

## PART II.

Professor K. B. Pathak, B.A., in a very learned and lucid article in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, (Vol. IV, pp. 111 to 136) has tried very hard to prove that Pāṇini must have been the author of the Upādi Sūtras as we have them now. With due deference to the Professor, we propose to refute his arguments.

The first and foremost fact that we would rely on is the Bhāṣya-kāra's statement (Mahābhāṣya, Dr. Kielhorn's Edition, Vol. I, p. 193).

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नानेनार्धधातुकस्यापितो द्वित्वं भवतीति यद्यममार्धधातुकीयान्कांश्चिन्दितः करोति, चङ्, अङ्, नजिङ्, ड्वनिप्, अथङ् नङः ॥ ...यद्येतदस्ति तुल्यजातीयस्य,.....अथङ्शब्द औणादिकानाम्..... ।

on the authority of Kātyāyana in the Vārtika No. 8 under I-ii-1 (Kiel. Vol. I, p. 192) viz.,

पृथगेतुबन्धत्वे प्रयोजनम्, वचिस्वपियजादीनामसंप्रसारणं सार्वधातुकचङादिषु ॥

The above statement is quoted as evidence to prove the fact that 'the text and order of certain Upādi Sūtras must have been identical with those known to Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa which of course should lead to the conclusion that Pāṇini must have been the author of the Upādi Sūtras. But it may be pointed out that this is not the only instance from which we could draw such a conclusion. We can quote another similar instance (page 154 *ibid*) :



नैतद्व्यन्तम् । औणादिक एष कशब्दस्तस्मिन्नाष्टमिकं कुत्वम् ॥

In both the above instances the Unādi formations are treated by Patañjali as though they come under the scope of the rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī itself. And it may be useful to note that it is this way of treating the Unādi formations, especially by Kātyāyana, who tries to justify the nouns derived from the addition of Unādi suffixes in the light of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, or to make them exceptions whenever occasion arises, that leads Dr. Goldstucker to the conclusion that Pāṇini should have been the author of the Unādi list; and in order to reconcile with comments of Patañjali on III-iii-1, he makes the Unādi Sūtras as the work of some later author. The truth is that their treatment of the Unādis as though they form part and parcel of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is due to the fact that Pāṇini by his Sūtra III-iii-1 not only validates all the Unādi suffixes but also declares them as variables. And the verses commented upon by Patañjali under III-iii-1 attribute to Pāṇini a knowledge of some Unādi Sūtras which have been made into a collection. And in the present case it might have been that Pāṇini knew of the Sūtras pointed out by Professor Pathak, but it is not necessary that he should have been their author. As Pāṇini has admitted the validity of the Unādi formations, expounded or not, and as even the indicatory 'it' is only a case of inference from the changes the formations are seen to have undergone, it is but natural for Patañjali in the present case to infer the *दित्व* of the suffix अथ as though it has been ordained by Pāṇini himself. Unless we take the above view, we can't find adequate explanation for the Vārtika above referred to (*vide ante* Part I, page 58) and also for the remarks of Haradatta and Nāgeśa on the point. Kaiyaṭa clearly says in his comments on III-iii-1 that Pāṇini has not only sanctioned the validity of the Unādi formations sanctioned by valid and classical usage as is consistent with the chief aim of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, but also remedied the imperfection of the collection of the Unādi Sūtras, a knowledge of which is attributed to him by Patañjali, by the word *bahulam* in the Sūtra. And so it is but natural that his commentators regard the Unādi Sūtras, as a Śāstra, even as an allied Śāstra, with the result that they try to apply the governing rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī to that Śāstra also. So in the present case that Pāṇini might have sanctioned the validity of the form आवसथः and *दित्व* is only a matter of inference. But this fact could not, by itself, be taken to lead to the inference that

they consider the Upādi Sūtras as forming an integral part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is all the more so in view of the fact of the commentators having committed themselves to the view that the Upādi Sūtras form a different Śāstra.

A second argument advanced in support of Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Upādi Sūtras is the fact of Patañjali's reference to Upādi terminations as 'ārdhadhātukīyāḥ' and Kātyāyana's reference to them as 'kṛipratyayāḥ', terminology being Pāṇiniyan, together with the remarks the Kāśikākāra, the Nyāsakāra and Haradatta on the Sūtra III-1-2. Here it may be pointed out that by the above denomination of the Upādi suffixes Patañjali and Kātyāyana only mean that the Upādi suffixes will have to be classed as such according to Pāṇiniyan terminology and nothing more. Jñānendra Sarasvatī, the author of the *Tattva Bodhinī* is very clear on the point. He says (N.S. Press edition, *Tattva Bodhinī*, 5th edn., ch. 66, page 567) :—

अत्र हि सूत्रे, 'धातोः,' 'प्रत्ययः,' 'कृदतिङ्,' इति चानुवर्तते, तेन 'कृवापाजिमि' इत्यादिना विहितानामष्टाध्यायीवर्हिर्भूतानामप्युणादीनां प्रत्ययसंज्ञा, कृत्संज्ञा च सिद्ध्यति ॥

With regard to the remarks of Haradatta referred to by Professor Pathak, we have to point out this. It is the significance of the word 'bahulam' that is said to be affected by the Sūtra. Further, in the same context (Page 502 Benares Edition of *Padamañjarī*) the same Haradatta raises a doubt as to the suffixness of the Upādīs and does not say that the governing Sūtra (प्रत्ययः) III-iii-1 operates. So much so, if we take our stand on Haradatta's doubt as to the suffixness of the Upādīs we can't help inferring consistently with his remarks at the beginning of his comments on the sūtra III-iii-1 that in the opinion of Haradatta, the Upādīs do not form part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. And if the explanation above pointed out in the case of the suffix अयङ् is adopted here also, Haradatta's words become more sensible and consistent.

A third argument advanced by Professor Pathak is the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the three verses commented on by Patañjali (discussed fully in the first part of this paper) under III-iii-1. This fact, according to the

Professor, leads to the inference that Pāṇini should have been the author of the Unādi Sūtras, and that these three verses are introductory to those sūtras. We are rather inclined to disbelieve our sense of comprehension than think for a moment that the above argument has been advanced by Professor K. B. Pathak, who, we are sure, is accredited with profound scholarship in Sanskrit. Though the above suggestion seems to be ingenious, it passes one's power of imagination to conceive how Pāṇiniyan authorship of the verses could improve the situation. If at all it proves anything, it proves the contrary. A straightforward understanding of the first half of the second verse would clearly show what Pāṇini, if he were the author, means. He says that the Unādis are dealt with by the Niruktakāra in his *Nirukta*, and in Vyākaraṇa by Śākaṭāyana. It is clear that among the Vaiyākaraṇas it is Śākaṭāyana that has dealt with the Unādis. Then what about himself, a Vaiyākaraṇa? Logically, we have to take him to mean that he has nothing to do with the Unādis, except for the fact that according to him they are variables. It will be but the highest acme of imagination which no ordinary human ingenuity would aspire to reach, to reconcile the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the three verses and the mention of the word 'bahulam' in the sūtra III-iii-1. The first verse is introduced by Patañjali as explanatory to the word 'bahulam' in the sūtra, and nowhere in the whole of the Aṣṭādhyāyī could we find Pāṇini explaining what he says. A logical understanding of the second half of the second verse should of course show that Pāṇini has nothing to do with the Unādis.

Further, Pāṇiniyan authorship of the three verses is a new tradition of Professor Pathak. He quotes Kaiyaṭa, Jinendrabuddhi and Haradatta. The same passage has been quoted and discussed (that of Kaiyaṭa) in the first part (*vide ante* pages 55 and 56 of the first part) and it is there shown that in the opinion of Kaiyaṭa, Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Unādi Sūtras. In the passage itself there is no implication as to the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the verses. In the passage of Jinendrabuddhi quoted, there seems to be also no indication as to the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the three verses. There seems to be implied that Pāṇini was the author of the Unādi Sūtras. But we have to interpret any author consistently with what he has previously opined. In the same context as referred to by the Professor, Jinendrabuddhi says :—

शास्त्रोपनिबन्धनत्वाद्वा शास्त्रविषयत्वाद्वा शास्त्रमित्युक्तम् ॥

In the above passage, it could be seen that Jinendrabuddhi discusses the propriety of the use of the term Śāstra to the Uṇādi Sūtras. This shows of course that, according to him the Uṇādis do not deserve the denomination of Śāstra; and it will be absurd to conceive that Jinendrabuddhi knowing that the Uṇādi Sūtras formed an integral part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī questions the propriety of its being called a Śāstra. The evident explanation of his latter remarks referred to by the Professor would be this:—that the Uṇādis by his time have been made into a harmonious whole so that it has been classed together with the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra, allied to the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

As the remarks of Haradatta quoted by Professor Pathak require a lengthy discussion, they have to be quoted here also. (Vol. I, Page 663 Padamañjarī Ben. edn).

अन्यैरप्याचार्यैर्नैगसरुढिभवानां प्रकृत्यादिविभागेन व्युत्पादनं कृतम् ।  
अतोऽस्माभिरपि तत्कर्तव्यमेवेत्यभिप्रायेणाह—नाम चेति ॥

It is the phrase अस्माभिः that seems to have given rise to this suggestion of Professor Pathak. We have to remember that Haradatta is writing a commentary upon the Kāśikā, which is also a commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini; and that the verses, of which the passage quoted is an explanation, are quoted by the Kāśikākāra without any remark as to their authorship. No independent authority is found to be cited by Professor Pathak throughout his lengthy article in support of Pāṇiniyan authorship of the verses, with the consequence that it could not be definitely asserted to whom this phrase अस्माभिः refers. The earliest work in which these verses are found is the *Mahābhāṣya*, and it has already been pointed out, that there is no reference to their authorship. Logically, we should ascribe the verses to Patañjali himself or to Kātyāyana, the traditional Vārtikakāra, on whose Vārtikas Patañjali writes a commentary. So much so, in the absence of any independent evidence as to the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the verses it is but uncritical to understand the above phrase as referring to Pāṇini.

Above all, one author by name *Perusūri*, a comparatively modern grammarian, attributes the last of the three verses to the Vārtikakāra in his introduction to his work viz., *Auṇādikaśabdārṇava*. (Mss. deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.)

यथाकामं विभिद्यन्ते स्याच्च वर्णविपर्ययः ।  
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणीत्यादिवार्त्तिकशासनात् ॥

Professor Pathak finds fault with Goldstücker for having misinterpreted the Vārtikas and the *Mahābhāṣya* under VII-i-2. With due deference to the Professor, it has to be pointed out that he has miserably misunderstood what Dr. Goldstücker says. And if Dr. Goldstücker has erred, he has strayed into the right path. The concluding Vārtika of Kātyāyana, viz.,

प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम् ॥

and the concluding remarks of Patañjali, viz.,

उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ॥

cannot but be evidence of the fact that Pāṇini was a non-advocate of the *Vyutpatti-pakṣa* of words. This is not a single instance in which Patañjali makes the above remarks. (*vide* Vol. II, pp. 181 and 190, *Mahābhāṣya* Kiel. II Edn.). And it is this Vārtika of Kātyāyana together with the remarks of Patañjali above referred to that is relied upon by Nāgeśa as definite indication of the fact that Pāṇini could not have composed the Unādi Sūtras. And it is evident from the Professor's article that he has either ignored the existence of Nāgeśa as a commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya* or thought his opinion unworthy of refutation. Under these circumstances, it is very difficult for us to swallow what he says on page 128 of A.B.O.R.I., Vol. IV, 'Though Pāṇini composed the Unādi Sūtras, they do not represent his personal views'. It is to be regretted that nowhere has Professor Pathak tried to establish this aspect of the question throughout his lengthy article. And in the absence of any independent testimony for such a reconciliation on the part of Pāṇini, we have to say that Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Unādi Sūtras.

With regard to the opinion expressed by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, it may be remarked at the outset that to some extent it is true. It is evident from the passage of Vimalasarasvatī quoted as authority, that Vararuci was not the original author of the Unādi Sūtras. The phrases स्फुटीकरणार्थम् and पृथक् do show that what he

did was to systematize the Uṇādi suffixes into an organic whole; and who this Vararuci was and whether his other name was Kātyāyana could not be definitely decided. Perhaps, he might be the author of the Uṇādis, whom the framer of the Vārtika, referred to on page 58 of the first part of this paper, is supposed by Haradatta and Nāgeśa to treat with scant courtesy.

## THE DATE OF ŚRĪKAṆṬHA AND HIS BRAHMAMĪMĀMSĀ

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.

Research Student, University of Madras.

It has been the contention of a number of scholars, beginning from the author of the *Śaṅkaravijaya*, which is wrongly attributed to Mādhava, that Śrīkaṇṭha ought to be considered an elder contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya. In the 15th canto of the *Śaṅkaravijaya*, we find the following anecdote, Nilakaṇṭha, *alias* Śrīkaṇṭha, author of a *Saivabhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, had an intellectual conflict with Śaṅkara, and was worsted in the end. He was finally won over by Śaṅkara to his side.—This anecdote, apart from other things, presupposes the contemporaneity of Śrīkaṇṭha and Śaṅkara.

But this militates against a host of evidences. In the first place, Śrīkaṇṭha refers to himself as the pupil of one Śvetācārya in the beginning of the *Brahmamīmāṃsā* as also at the end, in the following verses

नमः श्वेतामिधानाय नानागमविधायिने ।

कैवल्यकल्पतरवे कल्याणगुरवे नमः ॥

(P, 1, Mysore Edition.)

श्वेताचार्यपदद्वन्द्वशुश्रूषाद्योतितान्वना ।

कृतमेतन्मया भाष्यं केवलं भक्तिमात्रतः ॥

*ibid* P. 354

This Śvetācārya could easily be identified with Śvetavana,<sup>1</sup> *alias* Meykaṇḍa, the foremost of South Indian Śaivites of the 13th century. Meykaṇḍa was a great Sanskrit Scholar. He has rendered the *Śivajñānabodha* into Tamil for the benefit of the common folk. He seems to have had a number of Brahmin disciples, *i.e.* Aruṇandi Śivācārya and others. Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya also was one of his students. Dr. Barnett in his catalogue of books in the London Museum assigns Meykaṇḍa to 1223 A.D. From this it is clear that Śrīkaṇṭha should have flourished about the middle of the 13th century.

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1 Refer to page xi of the introduction by J. M. Nallaswami Pillai, to his edition of *Śivajñānabodha* (Printed by G. Ramaswami Chetty & Co., Malayaperumal Chetty Street, Madras.)



The fact of his connection with Tamil Scholars is clearly borne out by the fact that Śrīkaṇṭha has literally translated the following passage from the work of Saint Tirumūlar<sup>1</sup>.

“வேதமொடு ஆகமம் மெய்யாம் இறைவனுல்  
ஒதும் போதும் சிறப்பு மென்றுன்னுக  
நாதன் உரையிவை நாடி இரண்டந்தம்  
பேதமதென்னில் பேரியோர்க்கபேதமே.”

into

वयं तु वेदशिवागमयोः भेदं न पश्यामः । वेदोऽपि शिवागम इति  
व्यवहारो युक्तः, तस्य तत्कर्तृकत्वात् ॥

*Ibid* Page 156.

The date that we have thus arrived at is confirmed by the following reference. Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम् ।  
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

My revered preceptor, Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal has been able to identify this verse as Akhaṇḍānanda's. Akhaṇḍānanda, in his *Tattvadīpana*, refers to this verse with the following remarks:

अत्र सङ्ग्रहश्लोकः

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।  
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

Edition of *Tattvadīpana* in  
the Benares Sanskrit Series. Page 687.

It is a well-known fact that *Saṅgraha Śloka*s are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such.<sup>2</sup>

1. Refer to page iii of J. M. Nallaswami Pillai's introduction to his edition of Śivajñānabodham.

2. This verse, in the form in which it is found in *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya, through an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Bṛhatsamhitā*. This *Bṛhatsamhitā* ought to be differentiated from the astronomical work of the same name. A *Bṛhatsamhitā* is published as No. 68 of the Anandāsrama Sanskrit Series. I have carefully examined the work and the verse under reference does not occur in that work anywhere. Perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya in this connection is on a par with the Kātharāyaṇa Mātharāyaṇa sources from which he is in the habit of citing certain Śruti texts !

Akhaṇḍānanda is indebted to his teacher Prakāśātman for this verse. In his *Śābdanirṇaya*, a work published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, the same verse, in an altered form occurs on page 69.

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वाताफलम् ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ती च यतो जीवस्ततः परः ॥

With slight modifications, Akhaṇḍānanda adopted the verse and gave it as a *Saṅgraha Śloka*. Akhaṇḍānanda belongs to the beginning of 13th century.

The statements made above, lead us to the natural conclusion that Śrīkaṇṭha ought to be considered later than Śaṅkara and even Rāmānuja. Śrīkaṇṭha refers to the statements of both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja and says they are wrong.

शिवागमैकदेशे शिवस्य परब्रह्मणः केवलनिमित्तत्वमुपपादितम् । तत्प-  
रिहारार्थमिदमधिकरणमिति पूर्वाचार्याणां व्याख्या । *ibid* Page 156.

This clearly presupposes the explanations of both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja.

We find Śrīkaṇṭha adopting a sentence from the *Bhāmātī* into his *Brahmamīmāṃsā* thus.

“यदसंदिग्धमप्रयोजनं च तत्खलु न प्रेक्षावतां विचारकक्ष्यामारोहति ।”

*Bhāmātī*, Page 8.

This is based on the following sentence of the *Bhāmātī*

“यदसंदिग्धमप्रयोजनं च न तत्प्रेक्षावत्प्रतिपित्सागोचरः ।”

*ibid* Page 5.

Appayya Dīkṣita, in his book called *Ānandalaharī*, a work which was mainly intended to harmonise the philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha with that of Śaṅkara, remarks thus :—

“शङ्करभगवत्पादभाष्यच्छायापन्नमेव इदमपि भाष्यम् ।”

Page 118, Vāṇī Vilās Edition of *Ānandalaharī*.

“सत्यं शङ्करभगवत्पादभाष्यानुसार्येवेदमाचार्यभाष्यम् ।” *ibid* P. 118.

1 & 2: इदं in both these extracts, refer to the Bhāṣya of Śrīkaṇṭha.

These two extracts make his opinion clear. According to him, Śrīkaṇṭha is later than Śaṅkara. This is confirmed by the following passage found in the *Śivādvaitanirṇaya*, a manuscript copy of which [VIII-E-24] is deposited in the manuscripts library at the Theosophical Society at Adyar.

“नन्वेवमुक्तरीत्या सूत्राणां सगुणब्रह्मविचारार्थत्वमप्यस्तीति आविष्कृतत्वात् शङ्कराचार्यैरेव सगुणमपि ब्रह्म रूपप्रमाणसाधनफलैः विचारितं चेत्, किमर्थं सगुणविषये श्रीकण्ठाचार्यैः भाष्यान्तरं कृतम् ?”

With reference to the priority of Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya to Śrīkaṇṭha's, the opinion of Appayya Dīkṣita is not quite clear. He seems to have realised the fact that Śrīkaṇṭha is later than Rāmānuja; but at the same time, his partiality towards the system of Śrīkaṇṭha stood in the way of plainly expressing his idea. On page 146 of the *Ānandalahari* he remarks.

“किञ्चित्सारूप्यमात्रेणाचार्यभाष्यवत्तदनुकरणेन प्रवृत्तस्य रामानुजभाष्यस्य शुद्धाद्वैते पर्यवसानम् ।”

This may lead one, at the outset, to believe that Appayya Dīkṣita regarded Śrīkaṇṭha as older than Rāmānuja. But the word किञ्चित्सारूप्यं in the extract cited above and the word अनुकृतिसराणिः, used in the verse, of which the passage quoted above is a commentary, bear clear testimony to the fact that in the opinion of Appayya Dīkṣita there was only the semblance of some similarity between the Bhāṣyas of Śrīkaṇṭha and Rāmānuja. There are certain other clear references which may be taken to be definite.

“नन्वेवं रामानुजभाष्यमिवाचार्यभाष्यमपि सगुणमात्रपर्यवसायि किं न स्यात् ।”

*ibid* P. 147.

“अनन्यप्रातिष्ठत्वज्ञापनाय स्वस्य स्वप्रतिष्ठितत्वोक्तिरिति विशिष्टाद्वैतवादिभिः वैष्णवैरुक्तम् । श्रीकण्ठाचार्यैरेव आनन्दमयो ब्रह्म तत्प्रतिष्ठारूप इति स पन्था दर्शितः ॥”

*ibid* P. 2.

These clearly indicate the priority of the Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja to that of Śrīkaṇṭha even according to Appayya Dīkṣita.

The use of the word विशिष्टाद्वैत by Śrīkaṇṭha strengthens this conclusion.

1. आचार्य here means Śrīkaṇṭha.

यदुक्तं पूर्वत्र चिदचित्प्रपञ्चविशिष्टात्मा शिव एवाद्वितीयः कारणं कार्यं  
च भवतीति विशिष्टशिवाद्वैतम्.....नातो विशिष्टाद्वैतहानिः ।

Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya, P. 128.

As far as we are able to see at present, we do not find the phrases विशिष्टाद्वैत and चिदचित्प्रपञ्चविशिष्ट used prior to Yāmuna or Rāmānuja. The word विशिष्टशिवाद्वैतम् is apparently used to differentiate Śrīkaṇṭha's philosophy from विशिष्टविष्णुवैतम् of which the earliest systematic exponents so far known are Yāmuna and Rāmānuja. Hence, it may be safely concluded that Śrīkaṇṭha took these phrases from Yāmuna and Rāmānuja.

That Śrīkaṇṭha borrowed from Rāmānuja may also otherwise be substantiated. In writing his *Brahmamīmāṃsā*, Śrīkaṇṭha mainly depended upon Rāmānuja's *Vedāntasāra*, a Vṛtti on the Brahma Sūtras. Except in a very few places where Śrīkaṇṭha had to differ from Rāmānuja, he mostly adopts Rāmānuja's explanations in almost the same words. The following extracts may be compared with one another.

अत एव “मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते” “विश्वामित्रस्य सूक्तं भवति” इति विश्वामित्रादीनां सूत्रकृत्त्वेऽपि मन्त्रब्राह्मणमयवेदस्य नित्यत्वमुपपद्यते ।

P. 92, Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya.

अत एव “मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते” “विश्वामित्रस्य सूक्तं भवति” इति विश्वामित्रादीनां मन्त्रकृत्त्वेऽपि मन्त्रादिमयवेदस्य नित्यत्वं तिष्ठति ॥”

(Vedānta Sāra), P. 328, Vol. I, Śrī Bhāṣya, (Madras Edition).

ज्ञाने स्वाकारं समर्थं विनष्टमर्थं ज्ञानाकारवैचित्र्येणानुमिनोति ।

P. 150, Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya.

ज्ञाने स्वाकारं समर्थं विनष्टोप्यर्थः ज्ञानगतेन नीलाद्याकारेणानुमीयते ।

P. 96, Vol. II, Śrī Bhāṣya.

ज्ञानाकारवैचित्र्येण ज्ञाने स्वाकारं समर्थं विनष्टमप्यर्थमनुमिनोति ।

P. 97, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

अर्थशून्यस्य ज्ञानस्य सद्भावो न संभवति तस्य कुत्राप्यनुपलंभात् ।

P. 151, Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya.

न केवलस्यार्थशून्यस्य ज्ञानस्य भावः संभवति कचिदप्यनुपलब्धेः ।

P. 104, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

एकस्मिन्वस्तुनि सत्त्वासत्त्वनित्यत्वानित्यत्वभेदाभेदादीनामसंभवात् ।  
पर्यायभाविनश्च द्रव्यस्यास्तित्वनास्तित्वादिशब्दबुद्धिविषयाः परस्परविरुद्धाः  
पिण्डत्वघटत्वकपालत्वाद्यवस्थाः युगपन्न संभवन्ति ॥

P. 153, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

एकस्मिन्वस्तुनि सत्त्वासत्त्वनित्यत्वानित्यत्वभेदाभेदानमसंभात् पर्यायरू-  
पाश्च द्रव्यस्यास्तित्वादिशब्दबुद्धिविषयाः परस्परविरुद्धपिण्डत्वघटत्वकपालत्वाद्य-  
वस्थाः युगपन्न संभवन्ति ॥

P. 109, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

आत्मस्वरूपानुबन्धित्वात् ज्ञानस्य तेन व्यपदेशो न दोषः । स्वरूपानु-  
बन्धिधर्मत्वेन गोत्वादीनां खण्डादेर्गौरित्यादिव्यपदेशो हि दृश्यते ॥

P. 173, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

आत्मस्वरूपानुबन्धित्वात् ज्ञानस्य तेन व्यपदेशो न दोषः । स्वरूपानु-  
बन्धिधर्मत्वेन गोत्वादीनां खण्डादेर्गौरित्यादि व्यपदेशो हि दृश्यते ॥

P. 147, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

सुषुप्त्यादिष्वसतो ज्ञानस्य यावदात्मभावित्वं कथमित्यत्राह—पुंस्त्वा-  
दिवत्त्वस्य सतोभिव्यक्तियोगात् ॥

सुषुप्त्यादिषु सतो ज्ञानस्यानभिव्यक्तस्यापि जागरितादावभिव्यक्ति-  
संभवात् स्वरूपानुबन्धेव ज्ञानम् ; यथा पुंस्त्वासाधारण सप्तमधातोर्बाल्येऽपि  
सतो युवत्वेभिव्यक्तिः ॥

P. 173, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

सुषुप्त्यादिष्वसतो ज्ञानस्य यावदात्मभावित्वं कथमित्यत्राह—पुंस्त्वादि-  
वत्त्वस्य सतोऽभिव्यक्तियोगात् ॥

सुषुप्त्यादिषु सतो ज्ञानस्यानभिव्यक्तस्यापि जागरितादावभिव्यक्तिसंभ-  
वात् स्वरूपानुबन्धेव ज्ञानम् ; यथा पुंस्त्वासाधारणसप्तमधातोर्बाल्येऽपि सतो  
युवत्वेऽभिव्यक्तिः ॥

P. 147, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra,

सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं दहराद्युपासनमेकमेव, कर्मविधिष्विव चोदनाफल-  
संयोगरूपाख्यानामविशेषात् । विद्यात्, उपासीत इति चोदना तावत् etc. ।

Pp. 228-229, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं दहराद्युपासनमेकमेव । विद्यात्, उपासीत इति कर्म-  
विधिष्विव चोदनाफलसंयोगरूपाख्यानामविशेषात् ॥

P. 265, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

अविशेषपुनःश्रुतिः प्रकरणान्तरसहिता भेदापादिका । अतो न  
विद्यैक्यमिति चेत्, विद्यैक्येऽपि शाखान्तरे प्रतिपत्तृभेदादुपपन्ना सा न भेदावहा ॥

P. 229, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

अविशेषपुनःश्रुतिः भेदापादिकेति न विद्यैक्यमिति चेत्, विद्यैक्येपि  
शाखान्तरे प्रतिपत्तृभेदान्नभेदः ।

P. 269, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

अत एव बन्धहेत्वभावादेव दक्षिणायनमृतस्यापि विदुषो ब्रह्मप्राप्ति-  
रस्येव ॥

P. 322, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

अतः—बन्धहेत्वभावादेव दक्षिणायनमृतस्यापि विदुषो ब्रह्मप्राप्तिर-  
स्येव ॥

P. 445, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

प्रथमं हिरण्यगर्भपदप्राप्तावपि तदनावृत्तिश्रुतिः न विरुद्धयते ।  
हिरण्यगर्भलोकात्यये तदध्यक्षेण सह अतः परं कार्यब्रह्मलोकात् परं परमपदं  
गच्छन्तीति । तथाभिधीयते—

‘ते ब्रह्मलोके तु परान्तकाले परामृतात्परिमुच्यन्ति सर्वे’ इति श्रुत्या ।  
अतो न विरोधः ।

स्मृतेश्च ।

“ब्रह्मणा सह ते सर्वे संप्राप्ते प्रतिसञ्चरे ।

परस्थान्ते कृतात्मानः प्रविशन्ति परं पदम् ॥”

P. 328, Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

हिरण्यगर्भप्राप्तावपि अपुनरावृत्तिश्रुत्यविरोधः, हिरण्यगर्भलोकात्यये तद-  
ध्यक्षेण सह अतः परं गच्छति,

“ते ब्रह्मलोके तु परान्तकाले परामृतात्परिमुच्यन्ति सर्वे” इति श्रुतेः ।

‘ब्रह्मणा सह ते सर्वे’ इत्यारभ्य ‘प्रविशन्ति परं पदं’ इति स्मृतेश्च ।

P. 461-462, Vol. II, Vedānta Sāra.

The opinion that has now been stated has been already voiced forth by the author of a book called *Śuddhādvaitamūrtāṇḍa*, published in the Chowkhām̐ba Sanskrit series, in the following passages.

शैवो रामानुजमततस्करः

P. 26

तदेकदेशिविश्लेषमित्युक्तं तैर्विचक्षणैः ।

शैवोप्येतेन विध्वस्तः यतस्तच्चोर एवहि ॥

And in the commentary on this verse is found :—

एवं रामानुजाचार्यमतं दूषयित्वा तत्तस्करमतखण्डनमाहुः शैवोपीति—  
शैवस्तावत् विशिष्टाद्वैतमतमेवाङ्गीकृत्य

मायांतु प्रकृतिं विद्यात् मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ।

तस्यावयवभूतेन व्याप्तं सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥ इति श्वेताश्वतरश्रुतिं

“आत्मा तस्याष्टमी मूर्तिः” इति स्मृतिं चोदाहृत्य ब्रह्मावयवत्वेन विशिष्टांशं  
जीवस्य प्रकृतेश्चाह । सर्वत्र शिवपरत्वेन श्रुतिस्मृतीराह ॥

In both these places the author clearly points out that Śrīkaṇṭha borrowed from Rāmānuja. The word शैव in both references means श्रीकण्ठ. The latter of these remarks refers to what Śrīkaṇṭha has said in his *Brahmamīmāṃsā* on pages 178-179 of the Mysore edition.

The same ideas are found repeated in the commentary on the *Anu Bhāṣya*, published in the Benares Sanskrit Series in the following places.

यत्तु शैवः रामानुजमतैकदेशमादाय आराधनाराध्यभूतधर्मब्रह्मप्रतिपाद-  
कयोः मीमांसाशास्त्रयोः फलैक्यादैक्यम् etc.



शैवस्तु रामानुजमतस्यैव चोरः

P. 153.

The abuse which this writer levels against Śrīkaṇṭha is evidently due to the sectarian prejudices of the author. But the fact is plain that Śrīkaṇṭha borrowed his ideas from Rāmānuja.

Now these remarks, associated with the fact that Śrīkaṇṭha was not referred to by any writer older than Appayya Dikṣita, conclusively establish the very late date of Śrīkaṇṭha. Śankara, Yāmuna, Rāmānuja, Vedānta Deśika, Abhinavagupta and other Śaivite writers of Kashmir do not at all refer to Śrīkaṇṭha and his *Brahmamīmāṃsā*. The only conclusion that could be drawn from this is that this book did not exist in their days.

In the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* of Mādhavācārya or Mādhavārya as it may be, there are four chapters dealing with Śaiva philosophy. In none of the four do we find any reference whatsoever to Śrīkaṇṭha and his *Brahmamīmāṃsā*. It was his duty to have referred to it, had it been in existence in his days. Now two conclusions are possible. Either the *Brahmamīmāṃsā* did not exist in the days of the author of the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* or it did not command the respect of scholars, having been a late and recent production. Exactly the same thing seems to have happened. Śrīkaṇṭha lived just a few decades before the author of the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*. Consequently his book did not attain that amount of prominence and authority, which is usually the privilege of antiquity. Hence it was not referred to by him.

This discussion therefore leads us to the conclusion that Śrīkaṇṭha should have flourished after the middle of the 13th century of the Christian Era. This will make him a younger contemporary of Akhaṇḍānanda on the one hand and Madhvācārya on the other. All available materials seem to confirm this view.

In the *Siddhāntadīpikā* Vol. II, page 216, we find the following extract taken from an article contributed to the *Brahmavidyā* by one Śrīnivāsa Dikṣitar:—

"From this we say *Bodhāyana's* is first; *Bhāskariyam*, second; *Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha's* third; *Śrī Śankara's* fourth; *Yādavīyam*, fifth; *Rāmānuja's* sixth;.....

Of these, about Bodhāyana's commentary, there is no doubt that it is the first of the known commentaries on the Brahma Sūtras; it has already been proved that Nīlakaṇṭha is later than even Rāmānuja; about Bhāskara, it should be noted that he is older than Vācaspati for the latter presupposes Bhāskara in many places in his Bhāmātī. So the order should be—Bodhāyana, Śaṅkara, Bhāskara, Rāmānuja, and Śrīkaṇṭha.

## THE PLACE OF PRASĀSTAPĀDA AND DIGNĀGA IN THE EVOLUTION OF VYĀPTI.

A. S. KRISHNA RAO, B.A. (HONS).

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

Anumāna or Inference is a source of valid knowledge recognised by almost all systems of Indian Philosophy. The syllogism in Indian Logic usually consists of five members—प्रतिज्ञा, हेतु, उदाहरण, उपनय and निगमन. The essence of Inference rests on the knowledge of invariable concomitance between the reason or middle term and the major term and it is in the example that this universal relation is shown to be a fact. There is considerable difference of opinion as to when exactly this doctrine of universal relation came to be recognised in its full significance. Keith has taken considerable pain<sup>1</sup> to maintain that it was the peculiar ingenuity of Dignāga that introduced this new idea into the sphere of Indian Logic. In support of this view, he naturally tries to prove that Vātsyāyana, whose priority to Dignāga could never be questioned, seems to have not clearly grasped the idea and though he could not suggest one positive evidence in his favour, he relies mainly on some expressions of Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-Bhāṣya. At the end of his Bhāṣya on N.S. 1-1-37 Vātsyāyana says,

“तदिदं हेतूदाहरणयोः साधर्म्यं परमसूक्ष्मं दुःखबोधं पण्डितरूपवेदनीयमिति ।”

Keith calls this an important admission “as it makes it easy to realise how difficult were found the first steps to understand the real nature of logical reasoning even when the formal procedure was well established as it was in Gautama's time<sup>2</sup>.”

He was greatly assisted in the formulation of his theory by a close similarity between Dignāga's Pramāṇa-Samuccaya and Prasāstapāda-Bhāṣya. He had not sufficient materials at his command to fix the date of either or both of these writers and he sees clearly the injustice in accepting any traditional account as wholly true; but, on very flimsy grounds, he concludes that “so far as chronological grounds

go, there is nothing to prevent the supposition that Praśastapāda was indebted for his system largely to Dignāga<sup>1</sup>". He recognises also that mere similarity between two writers, however close, could never lead to any correct inference about their relative priority, in the absence of some other positive evidence and he imagines that he has this "in the advance of first-rate importance" in the analysis of the logical process made by Praśastapāda over Kaṇāda. He believes also that the theory was not known to any writer whose priority to Dignāga is recognised and "that the originality of Dignāga is supported by the fact that we can trace in his immediate predecessors an interest in the problem which suggests that it formed the subject of investigation to an extent likely to result in the precise formulation of this doctrine<sup>2</sup>." The same view is held by certain other scholars also, for instance, Professors Stecherbatskoi and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

Professors Jacobi and Faddeson, among Western Scholars and a large number of Indian students of Philosophy hold just the opposite view. We shall try to settle the date of Praśastapāda first, by a number of what appear to us clear references to him in Buddhist works, whose dates are independently fixed between 250 and 400 A.D. and by a reference to Praśastapāda even in Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya.

Most unfortunately our information about almost all the Buddhist works is very meagre, sometimes not extending beyond their simple names; and for what little we know we depend on Chinese or Tibetan translations. Professor Ui, in his introduction to the Daśa-padārtha Śāstra, quotes, from a number of books by Buddhist authors, passages referring to the views of the Vaiśeṣika school, sometimes clearly called so. Harivarman (about 260-270<sup>(3)</sup> A.D.) in his Satya Siddhi Śāstra says "The followers of Ulūka maintain that the touch of earth is neither cold nor hot<sup>4</sup>."

(2) The Vaiśeṣika maintains that.....gold and silver..... are included in fire<sup>4</sup>.

(3) Sound is momentary, (*kṣṇika*) as actions are and continuous (*santāna*)<sup>5</sup>.

The first refers to Pr. Bhāṣya (p. 27).  
the 2nd to Pr. Bhāṣya (p. 39).

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1. P. 99.

2. P. 108.

3. Vaiśeṣika Philosophy--Intro, p. 43.

4. p. 67.

5. p. 62.

and the 3rd to Pr. Bhāṣya (pp. 287-88) where these two qualities are accepted for the first time.

Vasubandhu, in his *Buddha Gotra Śāstra*<sup>1</sup> refutes the realism of the Vaiśeṣika in respect to sound. He says. "The Vaiśeṣika maintains that the sound is of three sorts—sound destroyed by the effect, sound destroyed by the cause and sound destroyed by both<sup>2</sup>". This is referred to only in Pr. Bhāṣya, p. 287, and no stretch of imagination could discover this idea in the Sūtras of Kaṇāda.

As to Emancipation, the Sūtras do not clearly mention it, while Pr. Bhāṣya (pp. 272-282), fully describes it. Deva (about, 163-263 A.D. 3) states in his *Śataśāstra*, "The other says there is Emancipation which is eternal and has no distress. Emancipation is the mental state free from distress." Here again, we are inclined to believe that Deva is quoting from Pr. Bhāṣya and not the V.S. Even if this point is not conceded, the references to Praśastapāda in Vasubandhu's *Buddha Gotra Śāstra* and Harivarman's *Satya-Siddhi Śāstra* could not be disputed. Praśastapāda would thus be earlier than Harivarman and Vasubandhu and if we should accept U's date for Harivarman—260, A.D.—as not improbable, Praśastapāda may be assigned to some period earlier than 250 A.D. Our argument will not suffer by any date being assigned to Harivarman; for Vasubandhu, and Harivarman are recognised to have been earlier than Dignāga and we have proved that both of them should have been later than Praśastapāda.

We shall next refer to a passage where Vātsyāyana himself seems to be quoting from Praśastapāda-Bhāṣya. In the N. Bhāṣya on 1.1.9, Vātsyāyana refers to the six padārthas of the Vaiśeṣika school.

“अस्त्यन्यदपि द्वयगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायाः प्रमेयम् ।”

Bodas in his introduction to *Tarkasangraha* (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. 55, p. 37) suggests that V.S. 1.1.4

धर्मविशेषप्रसूतात्.....निःश्रेयसहेतुः ॥

is most probably a later interpolation. A comparison of this sūtra with the opening passage of Pr. Bhāṣya leaves hardly any doubt that this must be an adaptation of the passage in Pr. Bhāṣya. Udayana's *Kiraṇāvali* and Śrīdhara's *Nyāya-kandalī* clearly indicate that V.S. 1.1.4 did

not form part of the sūtras known to Śīdhara and Udayana. Otherwise the passage in the Pr. Bhāṣya

“ तच्चेश्वरचोदानामिद्व्यक्ताद्धर्मदेव ”

would be but superfluous. “ We must therefore suppose that the aphorism was added by some later writer in order to supply what appeared to him an oversight of Kaṇāda.” Instances of such interpolations are not rare in the case of the V. S. and we have ample evidence to prove that many sūtras have been later on interpolated. If this argument should be appealing, we must admit that Vātsyāyana is quoting from the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda and not the Sūtras of Kaṇāda. It could be then established that Praśastapāda lived long before Dignāga and thus could not have been “ indebted to him largely for his system.”

Incidentally, we may try to determine the relative chronology of some of these writers by the number of categories recognised by them. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system recognises seven categories in all ; but, it needs no great ingenuity to say that all these could not have been conceived of as such from the oldest days. The first three categories द्रव्य, गुण and कर्म are mainly objective and so form one group distinguished from the next three, which are mainly products of our conception, otherwise known as metaphysical categories. The last Abhāva appears to have been later on added for dialectical purposes.

Philosophy had its origin in a desire to analyse all existing things and resolve the entire Universe into its ultimate elements. “ An object is analysed principally into three categories ; it is itself called substance, its quality, attribute and its activity, action.” The concrete object has relations to other objects of the same class and its whole class at the same time. Accordingly arose the conception of ‘Genus’ and ‘Species’. The first three categories, as existing in an object, must have an inseparable relation and this relation is Samavāya or Inherence. Thus it will be easily seen that the first three categories are primary and should have appealed to human mind long before the other categories deserved prominence. It would not be wrong to assume that some time should have intervened between these two stages. We propose to maintain that Praśastapāda was the first to recognise six categories and that Kaṇāda knew of only 3 categories.

An unprejudiced consideration of the V.S., we are sure, would convince any scholar of the soundness of this view. Kaṇāda's Sūtra 8-2-3, अर्थ इति द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु clearly restricts the application of the word अर्थ to the first 3 categories. The sūtras supposed to define the other three speak of *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* as simply relative.

“सामान्यं विशेष इति बुद्ध्यपेक्षम्”

*Sāmānya* at first did not mean the same as *Jāti* but was synonymous with *Sādharmya* and *Viśeṣa* with *Vaidharmya*. Faddegon is of opinion that *Samavāya* is of still later origin. He expressly states on p. 107<sup>1</sup> that in the V.S. only three categories are distinguished and various passages in his book (pp. 12, 19, 22, 24, 107 and 108) reveal his impression that though Kaṇāda refers to the last three also, he did not consider them “to be quite co-equal with the other categories.” Bodas in his introduction adopts this view and tries to support it. Even a Sanskrit Pandit of the traditional school, Kālipāda Tarkācārya accepts this view in his introduction to the *Praśastapāda Bhāṣya* edited in the “Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad Series” (No. 15, p. 10).

“सामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानां निरूपणे सूत्रोपदर्शिततत्त्व-  
विसदृशमेव तत्त्वं उपगृहीतं प्रशस्तपादेन”

I believe these observations would justify the conclusion that *Praśastapāda* was the first to raise all the six categories to an equal level. Kaṇāda's Sūtras support this theory, as already explained. Sūtra 1-1-4, referring to the six *padārthas* has been already proved to be a later interpolation.

This view is further strengthened by a close study of the Buddhist texts. Remarkably enough, it is in *Harivarman's Satya-Siddhi-Śāstra* that we find, for the first time, the mention of the six categories.<sup>2</sup> His work has already been shown to quote copiously from *Praśastapāda Bhāṣya* and this coincidence is worth recording. “Though Nāgārjuna and Deva knew the six categories, they did not name them side by side.”<sup>2</sup> This difference in the treatment of the categories by Nāgārjuna and Deva on the one hand and Harivarman on the other, is very similar to that between Kaṇāda and *Praśastapāda*. We are, therefore, inclined to place

1. The Vaiśeṣika system.

2. *Vaiś Philosophy*, p. 56.



Praśastapāda between Deva and Harivarman. If we accept this argument, namely, that all references to the Vaiśeṣika school as accepting six padārthas could refer only to Praśastapāda, we may definitely assign Praśastapāda to a period earlier than 100. A.D., the suggested date of the Caraka Samhitā. We may note in passing that Praśastapāda recognised only six padārthas and not seven as seems to be generally supposed. A reference to Pr. Bhāṣya, p. 6

द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां षण्णां पदार्थानां.....  
निःश्रेयसहेतुः ।

and Pr. Bhāṣya, p. 281 " उत्पन्नष्टपदार्थतत्त्वज्ञानस्य " would dispel all doubts in this direction. Several mss. of the Pr. Bhāṣya end with the colophon.

“ इति प्रशस्तपादविरचितं द्रव्यादिषट्पदार्थभाष्यं समाप्तम् ”

Dr. Keith next refers to the remarkable development in the analysis of the logical process. "The attempt at an exhaustive enumeration of real relations as the basis of inference is abandoned in favour of the wider conception of concomitance between the ground and the consequence. A distinction is made between स्वार्थानुमान and परार्थानुमान". We are unable to see how these two things by themselves constitute a 'remarkable advance.' Praśastapāda has scientifically analysed the various relations and arrived at a simpler universal relation; or simply, he stated in precise language what Kaṇāda was explaining and illustrating. The distinction made between Svārthānumāna and Parārthānumāna is only a combination of the doctrines taught by the Nyāya Darśana and the Vaiśeṣika Darśana and there is nothing peculiar which could not be explained otherwise than by recognising external influence. All these arguments should have already helped to conclude that Praśastapāda could, by no means, be said to have borrowed from Dignāga. Indeed, we think it possible to contend that Dignāga himself betrays his dependence on Pr. Bhāṣya. Refuting the Nyāya definition of Pratyakṣa, "Dignāga laughs at Vātsyāyana by saying that the Naiyāyika takes pride in borrowing his definition of Pratyakṣa from the Vaiśeṣikas.

. . . . . The Naiyāyika, however, is careful not to connect his perception with Sāmānya, Viśeṣa, Dravya, Guṇa and Karma<sup>1</sup>." Dignāga is certainly referring here to some accepted definition of Pratyakṣa of the

Vaiśeṣika school, where it is connected with Sāmānya, Viśeṣa etc. Kaṇāda does not define Pratyakṣa in these terms. Dignāga's words in the Pramāṇa Samuccaya, Ch. I.

“सामान्यविशेषापेक्षञ्च द्रव्यगुणकर्मपेक्षं हि प्रत्यक्षमिति न योजितम्<sup>1</sup>”

are almost the same as those of Praśastapāda.

“सामान्यविशेषद्रव्यगुणकर्मपेक्षात् आत्मनस्सन्निकर्षात् प्रत्यक्षं उत्पद्यते”

No consideration could prevent us from seeing in this passage of Dignāga a quotation from Praśastapāda Bhāṣya. If this is accepted and if Praśastapāda's priority is also recognised, the similarities between Dignāga's Pramāṇa Samuccaya and Praśastapāda Bhāṣya could only be explained by assuming that, if some one should have borrowed, it could not have been Praśastapāda, but probably Dignāga. But our own theory will be explained in detail at the end of this paper.

Dr. Keith seems to think that the idealism of the Yogācāra school should have greatly contributed to the invention of the doctrine of invariable relation, and he considers that it is in this school that "the principle had a natural right to exist."<sup>1</sup> Professor Jacobi's argument against this view, that "had the Buddhists invented for themselves the concept of indissoluble connection, they would never have set up the real categories of identity, causality and non-existence,"<sup>2</sup> is easily dismissed by Keith as due to "ignorance of the fact that the doctrine as it appeared in Dignāga has not this addition." But a careful study of Buddhist logic discloses the truth that these three relations *were* recognised by the school as early as Nāgārjuna<sup>3</sup>. Even this doctrine of invariable relation is already known to Nāgārjuna as shown by his definition of an example, "as the place in which is decisively known the connection between the reason (the middle term) and its *universal companion*, the predicate (major term <sup>4</sup>)."

1. S. C. V., p. 279, f. n. 1.

2. Keith—Atomism and Ind, Logic, p. 104.

3. S.C.V. History of Indian Logic, p. 259.

4. S.C.V., p. 259.

The main point in Dr. Keith's argument is that Udyotakara refutes a doctrine of invariable relation and that Vācaspatiśrī assures us that his refutations are directed against Dignāga. This he uses as "positive evidence that the introduction of the idea of indissoluble connection was recognised in the Nyāya school as due to Dignāga <sup>1</sup>." We are unable to understand the force of the argument or the validity of the conclusion. It is rather to be regretted that one who is always eager to attribute nothing but ignorance to his opponents should have himself proceeded to pass judgments on the basis of misconceived theories and wrongly understood passages. There is clearly no room for doubt that Udyotakara refers to Dignāga, but he criticises Dignāga's definition of *Avinābhāva* along with a number of others different from that of the Nyāya school as a preliminary to maintaining his own position. It would be out of place to refer here to the different definitions suggested for *Avinābhāva* which form the subject-matter of discussion in the Nyāya-vārtika and Tātparyatīkā. Suffice it to say that Vācaspati does not attribute the invention of the idea to Dignāga, but refers to a particular definition of *Avinābhāva* as the product of Dignāga's ingenuity, which has received so much appreciation from the learned critic. Dignāga's originality, unfortunately, has left no other mark behind it. Even the three-membered syllogism seems to have already been suggested by Vasubandhu, who recognises only a two-membered one as an alternative to a five-membered syllogism <sup>2</sup>

Our next attempt would be to show that the doctrine was a very old one. Kaṇāda knew that the *hetu* depended for its validity on the universal relation and V.S.3-1-14 could not be otherwise explained V.S.9-2-1, tries to enumerate the various relations which govern the invariable concomitance. When we come to Gautama, we have even surer arguments to support our position. The division of Hetu in its two forms 'Anvaya' and 'Vyatireka' presupposes knowledge of *vyāpti*. The very word व्यभिचार reveals that some general universal relation should have been first established if the word व्यभिचार should convey any sense. Gautama's conception of *jāti* or specious arguments or fallacy from false similarity proves beyond doubt that at no stage was inference in the Nyāya system simply argument from analogy; for, does not the conception of false similarity, among other things, prove that mere similarity would not do?

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1. Keith, Atomism and Ind. Logic, p. 104.

2. S.C.V. History of Indian Logic, p. 269.

Vātsyāyana also gives clearest indications of his knowledge of the theory, though he does not express it in so many words. Dr. Keith's interpretation of the passage on 1-1-37 already referred to is entirely wrong. Vātsyāyana does not mean that it was beyond his ingenuity to understand the nature of Inference. He simply gives a warning to those who would deal with it light-heartedly and tries to show how dangerous it would be to proceed without sufficient instances to maintain one's position. In the sentence

सोयमेकस्मिन् द्वयोः धर्मयोः साध्यसाधनभावः साधर्म्याव्यवस्थितः  
उपलभ्यते ।

the word व्यवस्थितः undoubtedly means invariably connected.

“व्यवस्थिते तु खलु धर्मयोः साध्यसाधनभावे दृष्टान्तस्थे गृह्यमाणे साधनभूतस्य धर्मस्य हेतुत्वेनोपादानं.....अव्यवस्थाप्य खलु साध्यसाधन भावं उदाहरणे जातिवादी प्रत्यवतिष्ठते ”

N.Bh. on S. 1-1-39 would convince even an ordinary student that the theory of invariable concomitance had too long been understood in the school to require any special explanation by Vātsyāyana. All available evidence is in favour of the view that the doctrine is assumed by Vātsyāyana to be already too well known. Otherwise, many of the passages in the N.S. and Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya would be extremely unintelligible.

Vātsyāyana gives us positive proof of his knowledge of this theory by himself using the word *avinābhāva* in a number of places.

“सम्भवो नाम अविनाभाविनोऽर्थस्य सत्ताग्रहणात् अन्यस्य सत्ताग्रहणम् ।”

2-2-1

“अविनाभाववृत्त्या च सम्बद्धयोः समुदायसमुदायिनोः समुदायेन इतरस्य ग्रहणं सम्भवः । तदप्यनुमानमेव ।”

2-2-2

अविनाभाववृत्तिः सन्निधिः, अविनाभावेन वर्तमानासु व्यक्त्याकृति-जातिषु गौरिति प्रयुज्यते ॥

2-2-61

and after discovering these references, it would never be possible to hold that Vātsyāyana was innocent of this conception.

What then is the real explanation for the similarity between *Prāśastapāda Bhāṣya* and *Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya*? Our discussion would be incomplete without an answer to this question. We have seen that a number of *Dignāga's* predecessors quote from *P. Bhāṣya* and that *Vātsyāyana* himself quotes from the same author. A third point has also been suggested that probably *Dignāga* himself is quoting from *P. Bhāṣya*. If all this were really true, have we no other alternative than to say that *Dignāga* had copied from *Prāśastapāda* and yet had the audacity to call the work his own?

*Bodas*, in his introduction, has suggested a very reasonable explanation. The period between *Prāśastapāda Bhāṣya* and its earliest commentary is a very long one. This interregnum is the more inexplicable as the period was one of intellectual activity. Controversies between the *Mīmāṃsakas* and the *Buddhists* occupy almost the whole of this period..... "The fact seems to be that, at this time, the *Nyāya* and much more the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines, despite smaller differences, found their strongest supporters among the *Buddhists* and *Jainas*, many of whose tenets closely resembled the peculiar doctrines of the *Vaiśeṣikas*. The *Nyāya-Bindu* of *Dharmakīrti* is a purely *Vaiśeṣika* treatise and the *Pramāṇa-Samuccaya* of *Dignāga* and *Dharmakīrti's Vārtikas* must also have been largely indebted to previous *Vaiśeṣika* works. This must also be the reason why the *Vaiśeṣikas* were at this time looked upon almost as heretics." <sup>1</sup>

This view that the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines found their supporters among *Buddhist* writers is more than confirmed by our knowledge of their works. "Seeing that the *Vaiśeṣika* and other systems were obscure in their terminology, *Nāgārjuna*, it is reported, undertook to write this book, to give a clear exposition of the art of debate."<sup>2</sup> *Nāgārjuna* in his *Pramāṇa Vidhvamsana* recognises the six categories of the *Nyāya*. In his *Uṇyākauśalya-hṛdaya śāstra*, he refers to the two kinds of examples, the four kinds of *Siddhānta*, the four *Pramāṇas*, etc. *Asanga's* form of reasoning is the same as the *Nyāya* form and has five members in the syllogism.<sup>3</sup> *Vasubandhu* also refers to the five members of the syllogism and twenty-two kinds of *Nigrahasthānas*.<sup>4</sup> After so much similarity observed between the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* and *Buddhist* works, the similarity between *Dignāga* and *Prāśastapāda* need not be a matter for surprise.

1. *Bodas*, Introduction to *Tarka Sangraha*, B.S.S., 55," p. 43.

2. S.C.V., p. 259.

3. S. C. V. p. 266.

4. S. C. V. pp. 267-269.

## THE VYĀGHRAS AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION.

### THE NEW LIGHT ON VĀKĀṬAKA HISTORY.

A. V. VENKATARAMA IYER, M.A., L.T.,

*Additional Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.*

Mention is made of several Vyāghras in inscriptions—Vyāghra Rāja of Mahākāntāra, Vyāghra of the Uccakalpa dynasty and Vyāghra Dēva of Gañj and Nachnē. Scholars have so far held varied and even conflicting opinions regarding their identification. This short article is intended to probe the question still further and, if possible, to offer a clear and decisive solution of the problem. Incidentally, it aims also at setting right the general trend of Vākāṭaka history and tries to place it in a new and true perspective.

1. Vyāghra Rāja of Mahākāntāra (the great forest country) is a contemporary of Samudra Gupta since he is mentioned as his opponent in the famous Allahabad Inscription (Gupta Inscriptions No. 1). He therefore belongs to the latter half of the fourth century, A.C. He is mentioned as one of the independent kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the country south of the Vindhya and the Narmadā and must therefore be distinguished from the vassal kings Vyāghra of Gañj and Nachnē and Uccakalpa Vyāghra of the Uttarāpatha country or Āryāvarta. Mahākāntāra is different from Sarvāṭavi referred to later separately in the same inscription, as well as from the Aṣṭādaśāṭavi of the Uccakalpa regions. The general order noticeable in the list of Dakṣiṇāpatha Kings mentioned by Harisēna may not be altogether without value for purposes of the identification of the Mahākāntāra kingdom. Vyāghra Rāja of Mahākāntāra is mentioned just *after* Kauśālaka Mahēndra, and *before* Kaurālaka Maṇṭarāja and Paiṣṭāpuraka Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭhūraka Svāmidatta. Therefore, the kingdom of Mahākāntāra may be looked for south of southern Kōśala in the region of Jhād-khanda (Oriya for forest country) in Ganjam and Vizagapatam agency tracts. (Ind. His. Quar. Vol. I, No. 4, page 184).

2. Vyāghra the Uccakalpa: In the inscriptions of the Uccakalpa dynasty one Mahārāja Vyāghra is mentioned (Gupta Ins. No. 26-31). He is the father of Jayanātha for whom we have dates 174 and 177 and he is the grandfather of Sarvanātha with dates 193, 197, and 214. This Vyāghra must, therefore, have ruled about 155, allowing roughly 25 years on an average for a generation. In what era are these dates? The



Parivrājaka Mahārājas were, without doubt, the vassals of the Guptas as is evidenced by the expression *Gupta-nyya-rājya-bhuktāu* in their inscriptions and their dates are clearly in the Gupta era. Uccakalpa Sarvanātha was undoubtedly a contemporary of Parivrājaka Hastin and a pillar was erected at Bhumara to mark off the respective boundaries of these two contiguous dynasties. (Vide Gupta Ins. No. 24). The Uccakalpas, therefore, were the contemporaries of the Parivrājakas and their dates also must be referred to the same Gupta Era, 320 A.C. and they cannot be dated in Trikuṭa or Kalasūri era of 248 A.C. as had been once supposed by Dr. Fleet. (Ind. Ant 19). Uccakalpa Vyāghra therefore ruled in 155 of the Gupta Era i.e. circa 475 A.C. Dr. Dubreuil tries to identify this Uccakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghra Dēva of Gañj and Nachnē.

3. *Vyāghra Deva of Gañj and Nachnē.* Inscriptions of Vyāghra Dēva have been discovered at Nachnē (Gupta Ins. Nos. 53 and 54) and at Gañj (Ep. Ind. 17). Nachnē is about 7 miles south west of Jasō, the chief town of Jasō state in the Bundelkhand division of Central India. Gañj is in the Ajayagad state in Bundelkhand not far removed from Nachnē. The inscriptions of Uccakalpa Jayanātha and Sarvanātha and ergo of Vyāghra are found in Khob, about 3 miles south-west of Uccahara, capital of the native state of Nagaudh in the Bāghalkhand division of Central India and at Kāritālāī, a village about 23 miles north-east of Mudivāra Tahsil or sud-division of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. Since the inscriptions of both these Vyāghras are found more or less in the same region, Dr. Dubreuil jumps to the conclusion that the Uccakalpa Vyāghra of circa 475 A.C. must be identical with Vyāghra Dēva of Gañj and Nachnē. This is indeed strange reasoning and seems to us to be hardly tenable. The mere accident that inscriptions of two persons are found in one and the same region cannot be any valid ground for taking them as identical. Thus the only argument of Dr. Dubreuil, if it can be so called, falls to the ground.

In the Gañj and Nachnē inscriptions one Vyāghra Dēva is said to meditate on the illustrious feet of Vākātaka Prthivīśena. This indicates clearly that Vyāghra Deva was a vassal of Vākātaka Prthivīśena. Having assumed, quite wrongly as we have seen above, that the Uccakalpa Vyāghra of circa 475 A.C. is identical with the Vyāghra Dēva of Gañj and Nachnē, Dr. Dubreuil goes one step further and informs us that Uccakalpa Vyāghra was a vassal of Vākātaka Prthivīśena. Who is this Prthivīśena? There are two Prthivīśenas in the Vākātaka genealogy and the second is four generations or nearly 100 years removed from the



first and is the great-great-grandson of Prṭhivīśēna I. Having fixed the date of Uccakalpa Vyāghra at 475 A.C. for valid reasons as seen above, Dr. Dubreuil is on the look out for a contemporary Prṭhivīśēna in the Vākāṭaka genealogy. Working backwards and forwards from the sheet-anchor of Gupta-Vākāṭaka synchronism, namely the marriage of Prabhāvatī Gupta, daughter of Candra Gupta II Vikramaditya to Rudrasena II, it is easily seen that Prṭhivīśēna I was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and Candra Gupta II in the later half of the fourth century A.C. Hence he could not be the Prṭhivīśēna looked for by Dr. Dubreuil. He, therefore, necessarily makes the Uccakalpa Vyāghra, the contemporary of Prṭhivīśēna II not of Prṭhivīśēna I. Thus Dr. Dubreuil concludes that Uccakalpa Vyāghra of circa 475 A.C. must be the vassal of Vākāṭaka Prṭhivīśēna II.

This betrays an utter disregard of Gupta-Vākāṭaka history. In 475 A.C. the Guptas continued to be supreme in Northern India in spite of the attacks of the Hūnas and Puṣyamitras in the days of Skandagupta and his successors and the Vākāṭakas were mostly confined to the Deccan. We are strengthened in this, our conviction, by the references old and new in Sanskrit literature. Pravara Sēna II, the grandfather of Prṭhivīśēna II and the renowned author of Prākṛt Sētubandhakāvya is specifically called Kuntalēśa in a verse in Bharata Carita and there are several scattered but none-the-less veiled historical references to a Kuntalēśādhipati—apparently referring to this Pravara Sēna in Rajaśēkhara's *Kāvya Mīmāṃsā* (9th cent.), Kṣēmēndrā's *Aucitya Vicāra Carcā* (11th cent.) which refers to Kālidāsa's *Kuntaleśa Dautyam*, in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī Kanṭhābharana* (11th cent.) and his recently discovered work *Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa* and lastly in Rāma Dāsa's *Rāma Sētu Pradīpa* (16th cent.) a commentary on *Sētu Bandha Kāvya*. (Vide Dr. S. K. Iyengar's Vākāṭakas in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute). The true significance of the term Kuntalēśa as applied to Pravara Sēna II has not been fully understood by historians. He is called Kuntalēśa because he was the lord of the Kuntala country only on this side of the Vindhya, a clear indication that the Vākāṭakas had been confined in his days to the Deccan. Of course, the Vākāṭakas attempted to take advantage of the attack of the Gupta Empire by the Hūnas, Puṣyamitras and other Mlecchās in the days of Skandagupta (467 A.C.) and his successors. There was, it is true, some resuscitation of their power in the days of Pravara Sēna II's son and successor Narēndra Sēna whose commands are said to

have been obeyed by Kōsala (South) Mēkhala (Narmadā) and Mālawa. Pr̥thivī Sēna II is said to have raised the sunken fortunes of the family (Bālaghāt Plates, Ep. Ind. 9). Pr̥thivīsēna II's successor Harisena is said to have made conquests in all regions—Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and Āndhra. The Vākāṭakas do not appear to have made much headway beyond the Deccan as almost all the kingdoms attacked except Malawa are in the Deccan, at any rate, far to the south of Bagelkhand and Bundelkhand, the region of the Uccakalpa Vyāghra. Even Malawa would appear to have been recovered rapidly by the Guptas who became rooted in Malawa as we know from the inscriptions of the later Guptas of Malawa. Thus it is evident that Uccakalpa Vyāghra of circa 475 A.C. could not have been the vassal of Vākāṭaka Pr̥thivīsēna II. He must undoubtedly have been the vassal of one or other of the successors of Skandagupta (467 A.C.), of either Kumaragupta II of the Bhitari seal or of Buddhagupta. That was perhaps the reason why the Uccakalpas like their Parivrajaka contemporaries, the Gupta vassals, adopted, as we have seen already, the dating of their inscriptions in the Gupta era. Hence Uccakalpa Vyāghra of circa 475 A.C. cannot be identical with Vyāghra Dēva of Nachnē and Gañj since the latter definitely acknowledges the overlordship of Vākāṭaka Pr̥thivīsēna. This Vākāṭaka Pr̥thivī Sēna was no doubt Pr̥thivī Sēna I, the contemporary of Candragupta II and the son of Rudra Sēna II the contemporary of Samudragupta. Rudra Sēna, the Rudra Dēva of the Allahabad pillar inscription, was defeated by Samudragupta. It was this crushing defeat that made Pr̥thivī Sēna I, the son and successor of Rudra Sēna abandon his overlordship over the Vyāghra of Gañj and Nachnē and look to expansion in the south by the conquest of Kuntala, as is evidenced by the Ajanta inscription. It was only after the conquest of Kuntala that the Vākāṭakas tended to gravitate towards the south. It was after they became a Deccan power that Candragupta II gave his daughter Prabhāvatī to Rudra Sēna II in marriage. Pravara Sēna II, the son of Rudra Sēna II is therefore appropriately termed Kuntaleśa as has been pointed out above. This view of the trend of Vākāṭaka history will be easily seen to be somewhat different from the traditional view that they were from the very beginning a Deccan power sometimes extending even so far north as Gañj and Nachnē. The traditional view appears to us to be a mistaken one. The original home of the Vākāṭakas must have been in Āryāvarta on the other side of the Vindhya, somewhere in or about Central India; for Pravira (Pravara

Sēna I) of the Vākāṭakas is mentioned in the Purāṇas along with or immediately after the Kings of Vidiśā (Bhilsa in Northern India). The first chief of the family is known by the curious name of Vindhya Śakti so called perhaps after his original abode near the Vindhya. That was also the reason why Rudra Dēva (Rudra Sena I) is mentioned as an Āryāvarta King. It will thus be clear that the early Vākāṭakas were a pure Northern power confined to Āryāvarta till the days of Rudra Sena I. Prṭhivī Sena I's reign marks the transition of the Vākāṭakas from a purely northern power to a southern one. The later Vākāṭakas were mainly lords of Kuntala and thus were confined to the Deccan. This is confirmed by the fact that the inscriptions relating to the early Vākāṭakas so far discovered are found only in Northern India and not in the South, and that the find spots of the inscriptions of the later Vākāṭakas are confined to the Deccan and none of them are to be seen in the north (*vide* my article on 'the new light of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka controversy' in the journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 306—309.)

## THE MYSTIC WAY OF THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ\*

PROF. D. S. SARMA, M.A., L.T.

*Additional Professor of English, Presidency College, Madras.*

Mysticism has been defined in various ways. Dean Inge in his lectures on Christian Mysticism quotes twenty-six definitions of the word. But it is only theologians that quarrel over definitions. Let us seek the reality that lies behind them. Mysticism usually appears in connection with the endeavour of man to apprehend God directly in his own soul and to become united with Him. True mysticism therefore is the very heart and centre of religious life. It is the life-blood of every religion. All the great historical religions of the world are based on the mystic experiences of their founders. Christianity is the outcome of the mystic experience of Jesus, St. John and St. Paul. Buddhism is the result of the experience that Gautama had under the Bo-tree. And Hinduism has its origin in the creative experience of the great mystics of the Upaniṣads. So, whenever, in the course of the historical evolution of any of these religions, a believer passes beyond the mere institutional forms and tries to make the experience of the original founders his own, he enters the sphere of mysticism.

But a man has to die and be born again before he enters its precincts. Religion is a comfortable pursuit only so far as it means the observance of rituals, the solemn reading of sacred books, the singing of hymns and the undisturbed possession of one's property. But when a man passes beyond these tasteful outer courts and, stepping across the middle court of righteousness, tries to enter the inner court of the temple where the mystic way begins, he is struck down at the very entrance. The first touch of the true religion results invariably in an inward sanyāsa. For the things that the man has prized most till then become suddenly like the dust on the roadside. The guides that have served him till then and the companions that have cheered him all along by their presence linger behind, fall and fade away. The light that lighted him so far has its well-marked boundary here. It is of no use beyond. For as the Upaniṣad says :

न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोयमग्निः ।  
तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति ॥

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\* A paper read before the Sanskrit Association of the Presidency College, Madras.

"The sun does not shine there, nor the moon, nor the stars, nor these lightnings, much less this fire. He shines and everything shines after Him. By His light all this is illumined,"

A new light requires a new sense. The eye that has been accustomed to look on time has to give place to the eye that looks on eternity. But violent adjustments have to be made, drastic detachments have to be effected, before a gleam of the new light falls up on the new sense. The world that sits like a nightmare on the breast of the sleeping soul has to be shaken off before the awakening comes. A man has to lose himself before he finds himself. Some awake early in life, some very late, and some never at all. But the true life begins only with the awakening. When Byazīd, a Persian mystic, was asked in his seventy-fifth year how old he was, he replied 'Four years'. They said to him "How can that be?" He answered, "I have been veiled from God by this world for seventy years, but I have seen Him during the last four years. The period in which one is veiled does not belong to one's life."

It is only after the awakening that a man begins to understand the vital teachings of his Scriptures. Some of their phrases begin to glow with life and put on the freshness they had on the day on which they were uttered. He begins to see, for instance, that the terms *prāṇa*, *jyōtiḥ*, *ākāśa* and *ānanda* in which the Upaniṣads describe God are not merely metaphorical any more than they are literal. The full significance of these words is lost by such figurative interpretation as that God is the life of the world, that He is the light that dispels the darkness of ignorance etc. For they are not mere metaphors. They rather refer to certain phases of mystic experience. The word *Ākāśa* refers to the feeling of infinitude, *jyōtiḥ* to the uncreated light in the heart, *prāṇa* to the experience of an abounding life compared with which our ordinary life is death, and *ānanda* to the universal joy which the mystic feels in partaking of the nature of God. Thus the words of the Scriptures become the voices of the living past and begin to guide the awakened man on the mystic way. Under their guidance he proceeds from strength to strength till at last he gains his freedom and becomes a living witness to truth. However it is only the mystics who remain in the bosom of the Church and, possessing a strong sacramental sense, make use of its traditional symbols that are able to exert a lasting and beneficial influence on their fellow-men.

The danger of a mystical type of religion is that, in so far as it rests on the authority of the inward light, it tends to belittle the importance of spiritual tradition and make every individual mystic a law unto himself. Also it sometimes runs the risk of relaxing the moral law and giving a spiritual veneer to men and women who have not got over even ordinary sensuality. And the false freedom that is too often claimed on behalf of the *spirit* of the law as opposed to its *letter* becomes a danger to religion. Therefore many of the great mystics of the world have pleaded passionately for the authority of the scriptures and insisted on the traditional courses of discipline. They knew that religious freedom could not be achieved by merely mouthing facile phrases like *tatva masi*. Śaṅkara, for instance, in one of his philosophical poems, says "A king cannot become a king by simply crying out 'I am the king, I am the king'. He becomes a king only by overcoming his enemies and establishing his dominion." The author of *Theologia Germanica*, which is one of the sanest expressions of Christian mysticism, earnestly warns "the friends of God" against the false light of Nature which misleads a man under the guise of the true inward light. Niffari a tenth century Muslim mystic, makes God say in one of his prophetic works "Cleave in thy outward theory and practice to the rule of the Prophet and cleave in thy inward feeling to the gnosis which I have given thee". Similarly St. Augustine, St. Francis, the German mystics of the 14th century, St. Catherine and St. Teresa lived and worked within the Church infusing light and life into its traditional formulas. Therefore their influence was more abiding than that of independent mystics—as Blake in England or Emerson in America. In our own country we find the influence of the author of the *Bhagavad Gita*, who is a mystic of the Church, has been more lasting than that of the Buddha who set himself up as an independent teacher.

I speak deliberately of the author of the *Gītā* and not of Kṛṣṇa, because, to my mind, the part that Kṛṣṇa plays in the *Gītā* is analogous to that of Christ in St. John's Gospel, of Buddha in *Saddharma Pundarika* and of Socrates in the Dialogues of Plato. For, though all these characters are historical, and though we have accounts of their careers and teachings elsewhere, they are made in these books the mouth-pieces of certain aspects of their own teaching, as selected and developed by one or other of their disciples according to the needs of the time. The author of the *Gita*, living in the Epic Period of Hindu expansion and of reaction from the early Buddhist monasticism, and speaking to laymen,



presents the teaching of the older mystics of the Upaniṣads in a new light of his own and makes the *Avatār* his interlocutor. As the Gīta is the essence of the Upaniṣads, its external form is clearly meant to be symbolic of the fact that the teaching is traditional and that the teacher is an orthodox mystic of the church.

His gospel, in spite of the later sectarian interpretations, remains as comprehensive as life. For he accommodates in it not only several types of mysticism but also several unmystical types of religion. It is only types of irreligion like materialism, free-thinking and pharisaism that he condemns. The contrast between an unmystical type of religion and a mystical type cannot be better drawn than in the two contiguous verses in the 3rd chapter :

एवं प्रवर्तितं चक्रं नानुवर्तयतीह यः ।

अद्यायुरिन्द्रियारामो भोवं पार्थ स जीवति ॥

"Thus was the wheel set in motion ; and he who does not follow it, but takes delight in the senses and lives in sin—he lives in vain, O Arjuna." (The wheel referred to here is the wheel of sacrifices by which gods and men depend on each other for their sustenance.) And the next verse reads :—

यस्त्वात्मरतिरेव स्यादात्मतृप्तश्च मानवः ।

आत्मन्येव च संतुष्टस्तस्य कार्यं न विद्यते ॥

"But the man who rejoices in the Spirit, who is content and satisfied with the Spirit alone—for him there is no work to do."

Three types of unmystical religion are mentioned in the Gīta—the sacrificial type, the ritualistic type and the polytheistic type. The author shows sympathy towards all these. But at the same time he points out their limitations. They should not be condemned as wrong and sinful but should be led up to a purer, more enlightened and more inward religion. Sacrifices are commendable, but they must be the sacrifices of the spirit and not of material objects. Rituals ought to be observed, but only when they serve to purify the heart. And the popular gods may be worshipped, but the worshipper should understand that they are only partial aspects of the one transcendent and immanent Īśvara. Thus the greatness of the Bhagavad Gīta lies in that, while it condemns in very strong terms all types of irreligion, it extends the hand of sympathy



to the unmystical types of religion and attempts to unify the mystical types. Of mystical religion mention is made of three well-known varieties. There is the philosophical mysticism in which the mind of man tries to grasp the ultimate unity of all things in God. There is the devotional mysticism in which the mind tries to enjoy the blessedness of communion with God. And lastly, there is the practical mysticism in which the mind tries to imitate the creative activity of God. But the Gītā does not present these in isolation as separate types, for they never occur so in life. Philosophical intuition, devotional fervour and creative energy are not after all such irreconcilable elements as some theologians make them out to be. Does not the personality of Śāṅkara, for instance, a great philosophical mystic though he is, show the other two elements in combination? Do not his passionate hymns exhibit his devotion? And do not his incessant travelling, teaching, writing and organising bear witness to his creative energy? The type of character that the author of the Gītā has in view is neither a philosophical mystic nor a devotional mystic nor a practical mystic but a combination of the three. The ideal Yogin he describes in various passages is a well-balanced mystic seeking union with God through his intellect, through his emotions and through his will. His head, heart and hands—all work in union. His whole being has passed through the flames of holiness and is consecrated to God.

This spirit of synthesis is seen in the author's conception of the goal as well as the way. The goal to be reached is symbolised in various ways by various classes of mystics. Some represent it as a person, usually one of the gods of the popular religion or an Avatār or, in the case of credal religions like Christianity, the founder himself in a deified state. To approach Him, to serve Him, to love Him, and to be inspired by Him and finally to abide in Him is the aim of the worshipper. Others again represent the goal as a state of the spirit, where limitations of individuality are no longer clogs to the understanding. To control the senses, to check the movements of the mind, to concentrate the attention and to grasp the ultimate unity of all things is the aim of the thinker. While a third class of men represent it as a place, either a world or a kingdom far away from the Earth—a place where there is no sickness nor sorrow, neither old age nor death. To turn away from sin, to discharge his duties faithfully, to detach himself from this world and to gain the other world is the aim of the practical man of religion. In the Gītā the

ultimate Reality is described indifferently now as a person—the *Avatāra* or *Īśvara*, now as a state—the *Brāhmī-Sthiti*, and now as a place—the indestructible abode. It should be observed that the expression 'the mystic way' assumes that the ultimate Reality to be reached is symbolised as a place, and that man's life on earth is a pilgrim's progress. If the Reality is viewed as a person 'mystic love' should take the place of the 'mystic way'; and if it is viewed as a condition of the soul, 'mystic discipline' is the phrase that should be employed. But it is all a question of words and symbols, the thing symbolised is one and the same. The author of the *Gītā* uses one comprehensive word for all kinds of approach. It is *Yōga*. *Yōga* then is the mystic way taught in the *Gītā*.

The mystic way is divided, according to neo-Platonic tradition which is accepted by Christian mystics, into three stages—(1) the purificatory stage in which by various penances and mortifications the soul is purged of all its sins and earthly desires, (2) the illuminative stage in which a sense of the abiding presence of God is gradually cultivated, (3) and the unitive stage in which the nature of God is not only perceived and enjoyed, but also shared by the soul in mystic union. This union is the true goal of the mystic quest. When the goal is reached, the self, no longer subject to limitations of any kind, is one with the Absolute. It will be seen at once that these well known stages of the mystic way correspond to our *karma yōga*, *bhakti-yōga* and *jñāna-yōga*. So the division of the eighteen chapters of the *Gītā* by our commentators into three sections, each section covering one-third of the mystic way, though a little arbitrary, seems to be quite in accord with the traditions of mysticism all the world over. For almost the same steps of ascent are marked in the literature of Sufism as will be seen from the following passage from Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam*.

'According to the Sufi, the seeker for Truth by intensive inwardness and communion with God can rise by successive stages of exaltation to a state, when he can actually have a vision of the Divine Essence. The first step for the novice is to form the *niyyat* (the resolve or intention), then comes *tauba* (penitence and renunciation). He is now on the forward path, this stage is called *mujahāda* (probation or striving). After a prolonged probation the ecstatic soul appears in the presence still veiled. This stage is technically called *mukhāzara*. The next is the uplifting of the veil (*mukāshafa*) when the veil which curtained off the unseen is lifted, and God becomes revealed to the worshipper's heart;

the last stage is the vision (*mushāhada*) when the entranced soul stands in the Presence of Truth itself and the light falls distinctly on the human heart." Some extreme Sufis also taught the doctrine of *Istihād* according to which man is identified with God in the unitive stage. But that is looked upon as a heresy by orthodox Muslims.

Thus the mystic way is the same or almost the same in all religions. Some divide it into three stages, some into four stages and some into five or more. But all divisions are more or less arbitrary. There is no hard and fast line between one stage and another. The way is not an artificial staircase but a natural slope, and the author of the *Gītā* treats it as such. He is a seer and not a theologian. He does not deal with rounded systems but with life. So, though the mystic way has the same well-known stages in the *Gītā* as we find in the literature of mysticism everywhere, his description of it is peculiarly his own. As one man's face is different from another's, though all men have the same organs of sight and hearing, so one mystic's experience is different from another's, though all mystics tread the same way, pass by the same landmarks and reach the same goal.

श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ।

## ॥ माध्वीकमद्वैतं दर्शनानाम् ॥

PANDIT S. K. PADMANABHA SASTRI,  
Sanskrit Pandit, Presidency College Madras.

तीरे क्षीरे गतिर्येषां नीरक्षीरविवेचनी ।

चातुरी च वरीवर्ति ते हंसास्सर्वगा वराः ॥

प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च शास्त्रं च विविधागमम् ।

त्रयं सुविदितं ज्ञेयं वेदस्यार्थं विचिन्वता ॥

इतीदं मानवं वाक्यं विधाय हृदये धिया ।

षड्दर्शनीद्वयीलोकद्वयीं साराञ्जिघृक्षवः ॥

विचेरुरुपजहुश्च सारान्मधुकरा इव ।

मध्वूपोपमं तैरप्यद्वैतं वैदिकामृतम् ॥

प्रथयामासुराचार्या मधु यत्र समैरपि ।

अदसीयाविवेकेन स्वादुङ्कारं निषेव्यते ॥

सारास्ते के कुतस्याश्च कलिता इति चिन्त्यते ।

करस्थपायसत्यागपूर्वं कूर्परलेहनम् ॥

अनुकुर्यादियं चिन्ताथापि कण्डूं निवारयेत् ।

विमर्शकानां सर्वेषां मतेरिति वितन्यते ॥

देवालये समेतेषु विविधेषु विभङ्कतृषु ।

नारिकेलं नरेष्वेको न भिन्द्यां कर्परं कथम् ॥

न केवलेन जाड्येन वेदश्रद्धावलम्बिना ।

रचितश्चारुतामेति विचार इति चिन्तया ॥

षड्दर्शनीशाणकोणनिशातां मतिमाददे ।

सा हि सर्वान्विजेतुं स्यात्सहाया वैदिकेतरान् ॥

रत्नहारी भवेद्राजा यत्नेनापि महीयसा ।

प्राचामाचार्यवर्याणां राजा रत्नान्यतोऽहरत् ॥

तत्र तावत् आस्तिकदर्शनानां कथमद्वैतं सारभूतमिति विचारयामः ।

प्रत्यक्षैकप्रमाणवादिनश्चार्वाकान् अनुमानमप्यङ्गीकारयद्विबैद्वैरनुमानमव-  
ष्टभ्याशृङ्खलं खेलद्विः क्रमेणापलप्यमाना अर्थाः अर्थस्थैर्यं, प्रत्यक्षं, बहिरर्थः,  
विज्ञानमिति क्रममनुवर्तन्ते । ततश्च प्रमाणस्य कुत्रापि तत्त्वे न विश्रान्तिरिति  
प्रमेयशूरत्वं प्रमाणे वर्तमानं मूलमवष्टभ्य प्रमाणमनुमानं प्रवर्तयद्विः समूलघातं  
प्रमाणमात्मापि हन्यते । नैतद्युक्तमिवेति वैशेषिका नैयायिकाश्च क्रमेण क्रमन्ते ।  
ते च सत्कारणं, असच्च कार्यं सौगतसमयसिद्धयैव असद्वासनया व्यवस्यन्ति ।  
कर्तारमीशं भोक्तारं च जीवं जगतो निश्चिन्वते । तर्कैकसमधिगम्यं च जग-  
त्कारणं निमित्तं समवायि चेति तेषां निश्चयः । सुगतसमयसिद्धं क्षणभङ्गं  
गर्हयन्तोऽपि क्षणद्वयस्थापितामेव केषाञ्चिदातिष्ठन्ते । कापिलास्तु—तर्कशरण-  
मीश्वरमाश्रितानप्येतान् तेनैव तर्केण नैकविधेश्वरा जगत्कारणानि कुतो न त-  
र्क्यन्ते । परमाणुभिर्वा महदिदं जगत्कथमारभ्यते । तदेवेदमिति प्रत्यभिज्ञाय-  
मानं वा कथं क्षणाम्यां भिद्येत । अतोऽयमारम्भवादो रभसायात इति भीष-  
यन्ति, जगतः कर्तारमीश्वरं परिहरन्ति । स्वतन्त्रमचेतनं निर्मातृ न तु चेतना  
धीनमिति निर्बन्धन्ति । ते हि लोके कुम्भनिर्मातारः कुलाला इत्यालापोऽपि  
कुलालदेहानधिकरोति न तु चेतनम्, यतस्ते न कर्तारो निरतिशया निर्विका-  
राश्च । भोक्तारस्तु भवन्ति, सुखादिपरिणामिन्याबुद्धेः भेदाग्रहमात्रवान्द्वागस्य न  
विहिन्यते निर्लेपतेति । स च भेदाग्रहो भेदग्रहे नेति तत्त्वज्ञानजन्यं निश्चयस-  
मपि स्वरूपात्रातिरिच्यते । नैयायिकादिनये तु नैवम् । यतस्ते आत्मानःसुखा-  
दिसमवायिन इत्युपयन्ति । सांसिद्धिकी हि समवायिशक्तिः मुक्तिदशायामपि न  
नङ्घयतीति प्राप्ता पुनरावृत्तिर्मुक्तानामपि । आरम्भवादोऽपि नाञ्जस्यमश्नुते । य-  
तोऽणुर्महान्तं न जनयेत् । असदेव जायत इत्यप्यतिव्यापकमित्याशेरते ।

अत्र विषये तयोरेव संज्ञापः कश्चिदेवंप्रवर्तते

तर्कि सदेव जायते ? बाढमित्याह । नार्थस्तर्हि कारकव्यापारेण ? न ।  
अभिव्यक्तेः । सा किमसती ? उताहो सती ? नैतादृशः पर्यनुयोगो युक्तः ।

न युक्ता तर्ह्यसज्जनिराक्रियापि । तर्हि जनरेव जग्धा । केन ? असज्जनवादिना । अथ सज्जनवादिना ? तेनापि । तर्हि प्रत्यक्षासिद्धं युस्त्या तिरोधीयते ? अथ किं युक्तिस्यज्यते ? नैव ; प्रत्यक्षानुसारिणी गृह्यते । तर्हि प्रत्यक्षं यावत्प्रसरति तावदेव युक्तिरपीति निवर्त्यतां सा धर्मादेरिव जगत्कारणादात्मनोऽपि । अथ लोकायताः सौगताश्च न वार्यन्ते । कथं न वार्यन्ते ? यतो युक्तिविरोधे युक्तिरिव प्रत्यक्षमपि काचिदाभासीभवति । यथा शङ्खस्य पीतिमनि, एवं देहात्मन्यपि । सौगताः पुनः स्वग्रहणान्तेन प्रत्यक्षे बाह्यं विषयं निह्नुवानाः प्रत्यक्षं विषयजन्यं नेच्छन्ति इति तद्युक्तिभिरपि देहात्माभिमानं ते त्यजन्ति । तथाहि । ज्ञानं न विषयाधीनम् । विषयस्य ज्ञानाद्भेदे प्रथाऽनापत्तेः । ज्ञानमेव हि प्रयेति तदेव प्रथनस्वभावं नान्यत् । अन्यस्यापि प्रथनस्वभावेऽन्यदेव न स्यात् ज्ञानवत् । संबन्धस्तु स्वभावं न भेदयेत् । खरतुरगयोरपि संबन्धात्स्वभावो मा भिददिति । तदेवं विषयेषु विद्रावितेषु व्यवहारः कथं घटेत । घटेनानयति तोयम्, तपति तपनेन । न हि ज्ञानेनानयति, तपति वा । तर्ह्येवं, ज्ञानाद्भेदो वक्तव्यः । प्रथा पुनर्लुप्येत । अभेदस्तर्ह्यङ्गीकार्यः । विरोधस्तर्हि तत्रैव भेदोऽभेदश्चेति । क एनं परिहरतु । स एव यः खलु कथायां वितण्डायां वादिनो निगृह्यन् न कमप्यभिनिविशते । विरुद्धमुक्तं त्वया यद्वैतण्डिको विरोधं च परिहरेदिति । यो हि सर्वत्र विरोधं वितन्वान एव विश्राम्यति स एव वैतण्डिक इति । सत्यमेतत्, स वैतण्डिक इति । न तु वैतण्डिक एव । यतोऽयं अन्येन मार्गेण व्यवहारे सर्वतन्त्रासिद्धानपि सिद्धान्तानाविरुद्धानाकलयति । यत एकमेव वस्तु सत्यं व्यवहारपथातीतामिति च प्रयेति । कथमित्यता सर्वतन्त्राविरोधो व्यवहारे । इत्थम् । सत्यं, स्वसिद्धं परिहृतपरिच्छेदं ब्रह्मैकं बहुधा वादिभिर्विकल्प्यते । विकल्पनाश्च यथायथं प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणानुसारात्समर्थ्यन्ते, कदर्थ्यन्ते त्वितरैः इति निर्वक्तुमयुक्ता अनिर्वचनमापद्यन्ते । यदि तास्तास्तथेभ्युपगताः को भारो विरोधव्युदसने । अतश्च सत्यमेतदुच्यते । यत्,

समस्तलोकशाल्वैकमत्यमाश्रित्य नृत्यतोः ।

का तदाऽस्तु गतिस्तत्तद्वस्तुधीव्यवहारयोः ॥

उपपादयितुं तैस्तैर्मतैराशङ्कनीययोः ।

अनिर्वचनतावादपादसेवागतिस्तयोः ॥

इति । ते तर्हि सर्वोत्तराः । तार्किकैरेव पुनरस्माभिरेकत्र पक्षपातिभिस्तर्का-  
वष्टम्भेन विष्टम्भितोऽप्यर्थः परैः प्रोत्खन्यते । अयं पुनराचार्याभिमतस्तृतीयः  
पक्षः प्रकारान्तरेण तृतीयं मार्गमाक्रम्य समायात इति तर्काभेद्यस्तार्किकपक्षेष्वे-  
कत्र न पक्षपाती च । अतो देहात्मवादादि सर्वमेव व्यवहारे सत्यमिति सत्यमेव  
तोषयत्याचार्यो वादिनस्सर्वानेव । व्यवहारमतिक्रान्ते तु मोक्षे सत्यमेव पर्यव-  
स्यदेकमव्यवहार्यं ब्रह्मैवावशिष्यत इति ॥

व्यवहारपथं त्यक्त्वा स्वे महिम्नि प्रातिष्ठितम् ।

व्यवहारपथे यातः तार्किकः को रुणद्धु तत् ॥

तदत्र कर्ता भोक्ता भिन्नश्च प्रतिशरीरमात्मेति मतं कल्पितं कर्तृत्वादिक-  
मुपेत्य समर्थयति । सदचेतनमनीश्वरं जगत्कारणमिति मतं जीवाविद्यापरिणामो  
जगदिति गदन् आश्रयति मिथ्याप्यविद्या व्यावहारिकी सतीति । अथवा  
सद्ब्रह्मैव सर्वाधिष्ठानं कारणमिति समर्थयन् सांख्यसंमतं सत्कार्यमूरीकरोति ।  
परं तु असङ्ग आमेति निरूपयितुमकर्तेति अनुभूयमानं कर्तृत्वमपलपति  
कापिलः, न तु भोक्तृत्वं इत्यर्धजरतीयमाश्रित्याप्यकृतार्थता, अहो तस्या  
स्तत्यायाः प्रकृतेरनिवृत्तेः । न त्वेवमाचार्यस्य ॥

सेश्वरं सांख्यं ईश्वरकारणवादेन योगाद्यङ्गीकारेण चानुसरतीति तु व्यक्तम् ॥

अज्ञातविषयं ज्ञानं प्रमेति यदुदीर्यते ।

जैमिनीये नये तेन भावाभावविलक्षणम् ॥

चैतन्यगोचराज्ञानमज्ञातामितरैरिदम् ।

संकल्पितार्थकल्पद्रुतुल्यमद्वैतदर्शने ॥

दर्शनाशयसारज्ञो जगत्प्रेको जगौ गुरुः ॥

प्रभाकरमतमनुसृत्य स्वप्रकाशं ज्ञानमिति नियमयन्नपि नितरामुद्दिजते अ-  
ख्यातिवादादनुभवापलापात्कपिलकरावलम्बितात् । प्रमाणानां प्रामाण्यं स्वत इत्या-  
वेद्यन्तमभ्युपैति भट्टम् । नन्वतीन्द्रियं ज्ञानमित्युक्त्या तमेव तत्त्वं निह्नुवानं इति ॥



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE ĀŚCARYACŪDĀMAṆI OF ŚAKTIBHADRA, xxix+231 Published by C. Sankararama Sastri, Balamanoṛama Press, Mylapore.

This play has been published for the first time in Devanāgarī characters by the enterprising Proprietor of the Bālamanoṛamā Press, Madras. It is a well printed edition with a learned introduction by Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A. It may be said that this work has been introduced afresh to the Sanskrit-knowing public in India of the present day, who have remained practically ignorant of its existence. It furnishes interesting and profitable reading to the student of Sanskrit Literature and easily comes within the class of Nāṭakas of the second rank. Both the verse and the prose of the Drama have been written in an easy-flowing and lucid style and not in that difficult and artificial style which one would expect to find in works of the later period of Sanskrit Literature. Though the plot of the Drama lacks originality or clever adaptation and though we cannot fully appreciate the prominence given to *adbhuta rasa* in the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, still we may say that the author has succeeded in making the play not dull and unmoving as the *Anarḡha rāḡhava* or the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*.

To the student of research, the work is a little more important and its publication in that respect now is certainly opportune. Coming as it does from the same manuscript source as the so called Bhāsa works of the Trivandrym Sanskrit series and being also a *Sūtradhāraḡṛtārambha nāṭaka*, it throws light on the controversy in regard to the authorship of Bhāsa of the plays of that series and affords some guidance for scholars coming to a sound conclusion thereon. Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri has naturally therefore, been tempted in his introduction to make a searching, though brief, examination of the question. It is not for us to pronounce any final opinion on the matter. One must own however, that one's belief in the authorship of these plays of Bhāsa of "well known fame" (*prathita yaśas*) is much shaken. At any rate, a perusal of Śaktibhadra's nāṭaka shows clearly that no importance can be attached to the *sūtradhāra ḡṛtārambha* or to the name *sthāpanā* or even to the names of the Nāṭakas as affording any reliable data for

the authorship of Bhāsa. It is in deed, a little surprising that, in the absence of an express statement in the works themselves of the authorship, while, therefore, the burden lay heavily on those who introduced these plays to the public as Bhāsa's to prove it satisfactorily by conclusive evidence, such a belief has been as general as it is. And, having regard to the fact that the works of Bhāsa have remained lost to us for centuries and that even personation of great authors is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in the history of Sanskrit Literature, such as one might find in the pseudo Kālidāsa and pseudo Śaṅkaras known to Sanskrit scholars, one cannot have a too strict regard for the canons of legal evidence which are as much applicable to historical research and Indology.

We welcome the publication of this book and are glad that the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* has been rendered quite accessible to all students of Sanskrit.

K. Balasubramanya Aiyar, B.A., B.L.

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FICTIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HINDU LAW  
TEXTS: C. Sankararama Sastri, M.A., B.L., ix+229  
Vasanta Press, Adyar, 1926.

This volume presents a collection of the lectures delivered by Mr. Sankararama Sastri under the auspices of the Madras University in the shape of 'V. Krishnaswami Iyer Lectures' founded in the name of his illustrious father by his devoted son, Mr. K. Balasubramanya Aiyar. The late Mr. Gopal Chandra Sarkar Sastri and Mr. Bhaṭṭācārya in their treatises on Hindu Law have regretted that the early exposition of Hindu Law by the Indian High Courts has somewhat suffered by its treatment by judges who were not familiar with Sanskrit. That cannot be said of the development of the subject in comparatively recent years as there have been judges deeply learned in Sanskrit and treatises have been written by lawyers of great learning in Sanskrit and its various schools of thought. We would refer in this connection to the work on Hindu Law and Jurisprudence of Mr. Sarkar Sastri himself, Mr. J.C. Ghose and Dr. Priya Nath Sen. The volume under review which deals with the subject of fictions in the development of Hindu Law Texts, by the great learning and research that have been brought to bear on it, is bound to take a high rank among works on

Hindu Jurisprudence. The learned lecturer has demonstrated in the course of these lectures how the system of Hindu Law as administered at the present day is built on the fiction of a Vedic Source in respect of every part of it. In making his points, the lecturer has drawn largely from the rules of *pūrva mīmāṃsā* without a proper understanding of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the various Hindu Law Texts and understand their true import. The questions considered by the lecturer are so numerous that it is not possible to do justice to them in a short note. We would however take a few instances interesting both to the Sanskritist and the lawyer alike. From the point of view of the historical jurist the variety of the courts of justice as existed in ancient India and referred to in the *smṛtis*, their constitution and their gradation in matters of appeal, are of great interest. The text of Yājñavalkya which runs as follows

नृपेणाधिकृताः पूर्णाः श्रेणयोऽथ कुलानि च । पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरु ज्ञेयं व्यवहारविधौ नृणाम् ॥

is given and the authority exercised by each one of them and their constitution are explained. We had occasion to consult in this connection Dr. Priya Nath Sen's Hindu Jurisprudence on this subject and we have to observe that the volume under review exhibits a great deal more of research and affords greater matter for reflection than the pages of the other treatise. In these days when the establishment and constitution of the Pañcāyat Courts are engaging the attention of our countrymen these pages afford interesting reading. Coming to the laws that were administered by the ancient courts and their relative authority notwithstanding the great pains taken by the lecturer in the fourth lecture, we doubt whether they can find their exact counterpart in the modern systems. As the lecturer himself has remarked, the subjects dealt with in the fourth lecture are highly controversial and it is difficult to come to a correct conclusion on some of them. As regards the relative value and authority of *Smṛti* and *Ācāra*, the Mīmāṃsaka view that *Ācāra*, if it contradicts a *Smṛti* text, is of no validity and the contrary rule laid down by the Privy Council in the well known *Ramnad case* are referred to and the lecturer has endeavoured to reconcile them. In support of the Privy Council observation, we would also refer to what the learned lecturer himself has discussed in his fifth lecture, pp. 181 to 184 where Vijñāneśvara, in speaking of unequal partition among sons and the categories of divisible property, has referred to the authority of *Ācāra* as against *Smṛti* texts. While on this question, it may be a matter for consideration whether the Mīmāṃsaka

view that a *smṛti* text has authority superior to *Ācāra* should not be restricted purely to cases of *dharma* which is *parokṣa* about which *Pūrva mīmāṃsā* deals and whether it has any application to mere cases of rules of *vyavahāra* not bearing on *dharma* with which Civil Courts have largely to deal. We venture to think that Nārada's text cited at p. 154 of the work would also support this hypothesis. It cannot be said that in our ancient books, rules of *dharma* can never be disentangled from purely secular rules and the learned lecturer has himself refuted this idea in the course of his lectures. We don't think, it is necessary to multiply instances, as what we have already said is enough to show that the volume under review deserves a very high place among works on Hindu Jurisprudence. We cannot conclude this note without drawing attention to the generosity with which Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastri has come forward to meet the cost of printing and publishing this work which should have been legitimately met by the University under whose auspices the lectures were delivered.

C. A. Seshagiri Sastri, B.A., B.L.

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#### NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

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Vol. IV, Part I, 1926.

1. On the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa by Sir George A. Grierson.
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1. The plays ascribed to Bhāsa, their authenticity and merits,  
C. R. Devadhar.
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1. Serpent Sacrifice in the Mahābhārata, M. Winternitz.
2. Is Āyurveda a Quakery?—J. J. Modi.

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1. The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Arthaśāstra, K. Nag and V. R. Dikshitar.
2. A Great Civilisation in pre-Historic Times, Sir John Marshal.
3. Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa, A. Rangaswami Saraswati.

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1. Patañjali as he reveals himself in the Mahābhāgya, Dr. Probhat Chandra Chakravarti.
2. Situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā on the Equator, V. H. Vader.
3. Indian Literature Abroad, Probhat Kumar Mukherji, Viśvabhārati.
4. The Jānapada and the Paura, Dr. Narendranath Law.

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1. Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period—Manomohan Ganguli.
2. Asura Expansion in India, Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.
3. Bhaṭṭasvāmin's Commentrary on the Artha-Śāstra is being edited in parts by Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji-Sastri.

*The Viśvabhārati Quarterly, Calcutta, July 1926.*

Agastya, the Grand old Coloniser, O. C. Ganguli.



## EDITORIAL.

Since the inauguration of Our Journal, there have been some criticisms as regards its scope and character. We welcome all criticism. But we must answer one or two of them which have proceeded from a slight misapprehension. It has been said that the title of our Journal is a little too ambitious. We maintain it is not so. Our object undoubtedly is to publish the results of all Oriental Research, understood in its widest scope and sense and we are not for excluding any branch of Oriental studies legitimately so called. No doubt, in the first number, we published the investigations carried on by a few enthusiastic young men who have been trained by, and are working under that eminent Scholar Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri. But this does not at all imply that our Journal will banish from its purview the investigations of other Scholars in Sanskrit or in branches of learning other than Sanskrit. For the satisfaction of our Muslim friends in the north and here, we state that we are ready to publish any article contributed by Scholars in Arabic or Persian, even though there may not be facilities for such studies in Madras and they may not interest the majority of the public.

Another criticism is that the first part of Our Journal indicates that the research carried on will be more Sanskritic than is desirable or justly necessary. This fear evidently is based on the assumption that a great emphasis on the necessity for the study of Sanskrit and proficiency in it is not necessary or even desirable in the field of Oriental Research. But, in our view, Sanskrit Study is an absolute concomitant for any investigation in any branch of Oriental Research; and without it, Oriental research will tend to be defective, narrow and, sometimes even misleading. Whatever may have been the differences between the communities and people inhabiting the different portions of this country, there has always been an underlying unity of culture, which, all except those whose vision is blurred by the passions of the hour, will easily recognise. It will therefore be the earnest endeavour of this Journal to remove all misapprehensions and fissiparous tendencies; to promote the conduct of Research on right lines, to encourage the spirit of co-operation among Scholars in every branch of Oriental learning, unhampered by the distractions of prejudice, ignorance and narrowness.



We have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore on the occasion of the Anniversary of the Sanskrit College of Mysore. It is a noteworthy pronouncement by an enlightened Hindu Ruler and a generous patron of Art and learning. His Highness has tried to dispel all doubts as regards the usefulness of Sanskrit learning in modern times and has maintained the view that the culture embodied in that language is our National heritage irrespective of castes and creeds and must continue to be an abiding possession with us for all time to come. It is indeed gratifying to note that an enlightened non-brahmin ruler of a premier Native State has made this important pronouncement, which, in our view, must end all controversy. We are confident that posterity will justly add His Highness's name to the illustrious role of Hindu Kings who, more than Universities or lecture Halls, have, by their munificence and encouragement, maintained the high level of Hindu culture,

[*As is otherwise nay, to go at is to forego, to enjoy is to droy—Ed.*]

## PRAPAÑCA-VILAYA-VĀDA—A DOCTRINE OF PRE-ŚAṆKARA VEDĀNTA

BY

PROFESSOR M. HIRIYANNA M.A., L.T.,

*Professor of Sanskrit, Mysore University.*

One of the most important points for a Vedāntin to settle is the relation between the *jñāna* and *karma kāṇḍas* of the Veda. With his implicit faith in the teaching of the Veda as such, he cannot reject any part of it as unauthoritative ; but the contradictions between the two *kāṇḍas*, at least in certain parts, are so glaring that reconciling them is by no means easy. The Mīmāṃsakas also are faced with the same difficulty ; but they all agree in subordinating the *jñāna* to the *karma-kāṇḍa* in effect if not also in theory. Naturally the Vedāntins cannot subscribe to such a view and they all endeavour to show that the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*, and aiming as it does at bringing final deliverance to man, cannot be subordinated to the other.<sup>1</sup> Though so far in agreement, the Vedāntins differ considerably among themselves in the manner in which they adjust the mutual claims of the two *kāṇḍas* ; and we consequently have more than one way of reconciling them. Thus Śaṅkara, as is well known, gives a relatively minor place to the *karma-kāṇḍa*. *Jñāna* is the sole cause of *mokṣa*, according to him ; and *karma*, only the cause of *Vividiṣā* or the desire for *jñāna*.<sup>2</sup> As another instance, we may mention what is known as the *kāma-pradhvamsa-vāda* which seems once to have been held by an influential school of Vedāntins.<sup>3</sup> It maintained that *karma* as taught in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa* was intended in reality to annihilate desire (*kāma-pradhvamsa*) through its continued satisfaction—a result which was regarded as a necessary pre-condition of a successful pursuit of self-knowledge. There were also other ways of correlating the two *kāṇḍas* ; and we propose to deal here with one of them termed *prapañca-*

1. Compare Bhāskara on Vedānta-sūtras (Benares Edition), p. 12 : तत् निश्चेयसफल-  
प्रतिपादनपरस्य वेदान्तस्य न कर्मविधिशेषत्वेन व्याख्यानं युक्तम् ॥

2. See *c. g.*, Vedānta-sāra (Sri Vani Vilas Edition), p. 19.

3. See Sureśvara's Sambandha-Vārtika, st. 343-56; also *Ind. Antig.* for 1924 (pp. 82-3)

*vilāya-vāda* to which references are occasionally found in old Vedāntic works.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this view, whose exponents Vedānta Deśika sarcastically describes as *Gauḍa-Mīmāṃsakas*, it may generally be stated, is to reverse the position maintained by the Mīmāṃsaka and to show that the *karma-kāṇḍa* is subsidiary to the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*.<sup>2</sup> This is done in the following manner : Statements found in the Veda about rites, according to this view, have a two-fold import. They signify that some reward like *svarga* will result to those that offer sacrifices or perform other rites. They also point out at the same time the true nature of the self or *Brahman* in some respect or other, and thus serve as the means of disillusioning man of some form of misconception concerning it under which he usually labours. To take the familiar injunction relating to the *jyotiṣṭoma*—*jyotiṣṭomena svarga-kāmo yajeta*—, it conveys the information, not otherwise knowable, that one that offers the sacrifice in question attains to *svarga*. But its significance is not exhausted thereby, for it implies also that the self is distinct from the physical body, in as much as it will no longer be associated with that body when it comes to reap the fruit of the sacrifice elsewhere,<sup>3</sup>—that is, the appeal made here is to a deeper self than what is commonly believed in; and so far therefore the Vedic injunction may be said to take the person addressed nearer the truth about the self. These two results of the teaching, according to Bhāskara,<sup>4</sup> are respectively to be described as *ānvayika* and

i. These works are—

(i) Śāṅkara : Bhāṣya on Vedānta-sūtras : III. ii. 21 (pp. 647-52), Nirmaya-sagara Edition containing Ratna-prabhā and two other commentaries.

(ii) Sureśvara : Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-vārtika : Sambandha-vārtika : st. 378-426.

(iii) Bhāskara : Bhāṣya on Vedānta-sūtras (Benares Edition) : I. i. 3, 4 (especially p. 12) ; I. iv. 21, (pp. 83-4) ; III. iii. 1 (p. 175).

(iv) Rāmānuja : Śrī-bhāṣya : I. i. 4 (pp. 251-254), Nirmaya Sagar Edition of the Catuḥ-sūtri with Śrūta-prakāśikā.

(v) Vedānta-deśika : Tattva-muktā-kalāpa with sarvārtha-siddhi : (Benares Edn.) ii. 44. References to these works in the sequel, when not otherwise specified, relate to these portions, and when pages are noted, they are of the Editions mentioned.

2. Compare Bhāskara-bhāṣya (p. 12) कर्मविधीनां तु तादर्थ्यं शक्यमवगन्तुम् ॥; and Sambandha-Vārtika, st. 378 (com.) कर्मकाण्डस्येतरशेषत्वात् ॥

3. Sambandha-vārtika st. 379.

4. (p. 12) आन्वयिकं प्रासङ्गिकं च द्विविधं कार्यं दृश्यते । स्वर्गकामो प्रासङ्गिक इत्यान्वयिकं कार्यम् । प्रासङ्गिकं पुनः स्वाभाविकीनां बाह्याभ्यन्तरप्रवृत्तीनामुपरमः ॥

*prāsaṅgika*. It is difficult to say what exactly these terms signify. The former term may mean 'regular' or 'constant' and the latter 'incidental', in which case the ritualistic import would appear to be more essential than what in contradistinction we may characterise as the metaphysical import. But to judge from what Bhāskara himself adds later in the same section <sup>1</sup> and what Ānanda-jñāna states in his *Ṭikā* on the *Sambandha-vārtika* <sup>2</sup>, the latter is the more important. If so we should, it seems, understand *ānvayika* as equivalent to 'what is expressed' and *prāsaṅgika* as amounting to 'what is intended'. These meanings fit in well with the parallel of the *devatādhikaraṇa*, <sup>3</sup> cited by Ānanda-Jñāna in this connection, according to which, though the expressed meaning is not excluded in the case of Vedic statements like *vajra-hastah purandarah*, prominence is not given to it.

The *jyotiṣṭoma-vākya* which we have chosen as an illustration refers to a *kāmya* rite. There are other kinds of rites also—the *nitya* and the *pratiśiddha*; and similar explanations are given of them also by the advocate of the *prapañca-vilaya-vāda*. They also according to him convey, in addition to their literal meaning, a second one, *viz.*, that natural impulses which such *karmas* are intended to keep in check are not really of the self but are only mistaken to be so. <sup>4</sup> Except for these Vedic behests, man might, in trying to gratify those impulses, ever remain ignorant of the true nature of the self. The *pratiśiddha* and the *nitya* types of *karma* are at one in this respect, the only difference being that while the former restrain one from activities prompted by natural impulses by *direct* prohibition, the latter do so in an *indirect* manner by prescribing in their place other activities, not so prompted. It will be observed that according to the explanation given above, each *karma-vidhi* is intended to remove but *some* part of the misconception about the self; and it is the multiplicity of such misconceptions that explains the multiplicity of the *karmas* enjoined in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa*. <sup>5</sup> Every one of these injunctions may thus be said to contain a double mandate—one, to keep oneself engaged in some act or withhold from yielding to some impulse; the other, to dismiss the thought of something or other which

1. (P. 12) तत्र यद्यपि कर्मविधिमिरान्वयिकं कार्यमाश्रितं तथाप्युत्तमाधिकारविधिना प्रासङ्गिकं कार्यमपेक्षितमिति तदेवप्राधान्येन विवक्ष्यते ॥

2. St. 379.

3. Vedānta-sūtras : I. iii. 26-33.

4. See Sambandha-vārtika : St. 381-2 and Bhāskara-bhāṣya, p. 12.

5. Cf.—*Ibid* : St. 378 (com.),

though really not the self is mistaken for it. The latter process is one of purifying or sublimating the self and corresponds to what is termed *tvam-ṣadārtha-śodhana* in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. But there it is reflected through *yukti*<sup>1</sup>; here, through direct Vedic teaching. The ordinary person qualified to perform sacrifices in obeying the Vedic injunctions about them realises the truth about the self gradually through his very devotion to *karma*<sup>2</sup>: the more qualified one (*uttamādhikārin*) does so directly<sup>3</sup>. But in either case, the source of enlightenment in this respect, according to the doctrine we are considering, is Revelation and not one's own reflection as it is in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. The object of such sublimation is to help us in getting rid of our attachment to things that are extraneous to the self and serve as hindrance to the acquisition of self-knowledge as taught in the *jñāna-kāṇḍa*. It is by pointing out in this manner that the two *kāṇḍas* serve but one purpose<sup>4</sup> that the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* harmonises them.

There may be more than one aspect of this doctrine which is not quite clear; but two points are certain. First, it conceives the self or *Brahman* as *niṣprapañca* or *nirguṇa*, and the doctrine by implication may be taken as upholding the *māyā-vāda*. Secondly, it adopts the *niyoga* view of the Pṛabhākara school of *Mīmāṃsā* in its interpretation of the Upaniṣads. We shall now consider these two points in some detail.

#### (1) Nature of the self:

This point is expressly treated of in the Upaniṣads as the Vedāntins and the Mīmāṃsakas both admit. The passages dealing with it are however of two types—some describing the self as *saguṇa* and the others making out that it is *nirguṇa*. The Vedāntins, as is well known, differ in their appreciation of these two sets of passages. According to some, it is the former that present the ultimate truth; according to others, it is the latter that do so. The advocate of the *prapañca-vilaya-vāda* like Śaṅkara maintains that the *nirguṇavākyas* convey the final truth about the self. But he seems to differ from Śaṅkara in his understanding of the *saguṇa-vākyas*. According to

1. See for example Naiṣkarmya-siddhi : Chapter ii.

2. As in the kāmā-pradhvamsa-vāda referred to above, here also *karma* aims at killing desire. But there it is done through phala-bhoga; here through the very *pravṛtti* in *karma*; compare Sambandha-vārtika St. 422-3.

3. See *Ibid.* St. 395, 399 and 400 and Bhāskara-bhāṣya p. 12. We cannot say from the data available whether the *uttamādhikārin* has to engage himself in *karma* also.

4. See Sambandha-vārtika St. 398.



Śaṅkara, these *vākyas*, except when they occur in the *nirguṇa* context<sup>1</sup>, are to be explained as furnishing what may be described as suitable 'conceits' for meditation (*upāsana*) which marks a definite and important stage in the training of the Vedāntin. They have thus no direct bearing upon the true nature of the self. The *prapañca-vilaya-vādin*, on the other hand, interprets both sets of passages alike as signifying the same truth, *viz.*, that the self or *Brahman* is *nirguṇa*. We find this fact alluded to by Śaṅkara himself in his *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (III. ii. 21). According to the *resume* given there, the *saguṇa-vākyas* are, in this view, to be understood as referring to the *nirguṇa Brahman*, apparently on the principle of *apoha* enunciated by Buddhists. To take as an instance the passage in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (III. xiv. 2) which describes *Brahman* as *manomayah*, we may understand from it that *manas* is an adjunct of it. But that is only its positive import; and there is a negative one also according to which *all other* adjuncts are to be taken as *denied* of it. Now when the same passage proceeds to describe *Brahman* as *prāṇa-śarīrah*, the further fact is made clear, by the application of the same principle of interpretation as above, that *manas* also is not truly its adjunct. Thus the two epithets together present the self as *nirguṇa*<sup>2</sup>—a result which is identical with the teaching of the other set of passages like *asthūlam*, *anaṇu* or *neti neti*. In other words, the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* explains the discrepancies between the different parts of the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* on a basis similar to that on which he does the discrepancies between the two *kāṇḍas*. The question will naturally occur here as to what need there is to deduce indirectly from the *saguṇa-vākyas* the *nirguṇa* character of the self when explicit statements to the same effect are found in the Upaniṣads. Such an objection was actually raised by the other schools of Vedānta and seems to have been a stock argument against the *prapañca-vilaya-vāda*.<sup>3</sup> But we are not now concerned so much with the soundness or the reverse of the doctrine as with its nature and its scope. It is therefore sufficient to observe here that this kind of interpretation of the *saguṇa* passages is just what may be expected from a school of thought which did not hesitate to read a metaphysical meaning into texts that are clearly ritualistic. Thus finally the whole of the Veda is to be regarded as teaching one and the same thing, *viz.*,

1. For example, Br. Up. II. v. 19. Here the *saguṇa* expressions are to be understood as exemplifying the sort of *guṇas* to be negated of the self. Compare Śaṅkara on Ved. Sū. III. ii. 14.

2. See Ratna-prabhā on Śaṅkara's *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (p. 647).

3. See Sambandha-vārtika. st. 426; Śrībhāṣya (p. 253): तत् स्ववाक्यादेव ज्ञातम्

that the self is *nirguṇa*. Some portions of it teach it piecemeal; others completely; some directly, others indirectly. It is by pointing out this uniformity of teaching that the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* removes whatever conflict may appear between one part of the Veda and another.<sup>1</sup> The *prapañca-vilaya-vādin*, as may easily be seen, should also have accepted the *māyā-vāda*. According to the doctrine, as summarised in the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, diversity comes to be associated with the self through *avidyā*<sup>2</sup>; and the same point is made more explicit still in the commentary, *Śrūta-prakāśikā* which classifies the followers of the school as *jaraṇ-māyā-vādins*, a term which is used presumably to contrast them with Śaṅkara and his followers whom it later describes as *sākṣānmāyā-vādins* 3.

## (2) *Niyoga-vāda* :

Following the Mīmāṃsakas, the Vedāntins with the exception of Śaṅkara alone, regard a *sādhya* or 'what may be accomplished' as the ultimate significance of the Upaniṣads, though by *sādhya* here has to be understood not a sacrificial deed but a mental act like meditation. Some among the Vedāntins, adopting the view of the Bhāṭṭas, recognise *bhāvanā* as the import of the central injunctive statements in the Upaniṣads; others like the Vṛttikāra alluded to by Śaṅkara in the beginning of the second *varṇaka* of his *bhāṣya* on the *Samanvaya-sūtra* take it as *niyoga*, adopting the Prābhākara view.<sup>4</sup> The advocate of *prapañca-vilaya-vāda* is among the latter, for in all references to it in old works, the doctrine is affiliated to *niyoga-vāda*.<sup>5</sup> This means, first, that unlike Śaṅkara, the *prapañca-vilaya-vādin* finds the essential teaching of the Upaniṣads to be contained not in statements like *Tat tvam asi* or *neti neti* but rather in those like *śānto dānta uparataḥ*.... *ātmanyeva ātmānam paśyet* <sup>6</sup> which enjoin the duty of self-knowledge; and secondly, that he ascribes whatever result is achieved by obeying the injunction to the efficacy of *niyoga* or Vedic mandate. But the idea of *niyoga* to be complete requires a reference, among other things, to the *niyojya* or

1. Compare Śaṅkara's Sūtra-bhāṣya (p. 651) where in refuting this position it is stated : अतश्चैकनियोगप्रतीतेरेकवाक्यतेत्युक्तम् ॥

2. P. 252. It must be added that according to the expression मायाप्रलयवादिनोः used by Bhāṣkara (p. 84), the doctrine would be distinguished from māyā-vāda.

3. See p. 255.

4. For this distinction, see e. g., Sambandha-vārtika, st. 796-7.

5. See e. g., Bhāṣkara-bhāṣya p. 9, Śaṅkara's Sūtra-bhāṣya, p. 649, Sambandha-vārtika st. 383, Śrī-bhāṣya, p. 252.

6. Bṛ. Up. IV. iv. 23.



person to whom the mandate is specifically addressed and to a *viṣaya*. In regard to the *jyotiṣṭoma* for instance these are respectively a *dviṣa* that is actuated by a desire for *svarga* and the sacrifice. In the present case, the *niyojya* is obviously one that is seeking *mokṣa*<sup>1</sup>, and the *viṣaya* is self-knowledge as indicated by the very description of it as *jñāna-niyoga*<sup>2</sup>. Obeying the bidding of the Veda in this respect means acquiring *jñāna* or self-knowledge. But it is impossible to do that until the numerous adjuncts with which the self is wrongly associated are discarded as unreal and unworthy of attention. When once this is accomplished, the pursuit of self-knowledge becomes possible for, the distractions having all disappeared, it will be easy to have perfect equanimity of mind.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the qualifications laid down in the text quoted above from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (*sānti*, etc.,) which are indispensable to self-knowledge should first be acquired through *prapañca-vilaya*. And this can be done, as conceived here, only under the promptings of a Vedic call. That means, there is need for an *avāntara-niyoga* with *prapañca-vilaya* for its *viṣaya* or as the same is expressed positively, *niṣprapañca-brahman* as its *viṣaya*.<sup>4</sup> It is as contributing towards this end that the *karma-vidhis* found in the *pūrva-kāṇḍa* were interpreted by this school in the peculiar manner to which we have already referred. But these *vidhis* as already observed involve only a partial removal of the diversity which is fancied to characterise the self. A *niyoga* relating to its complete elimination, we have, for instance in *na drṣṭer draṣṭāram paśyeh*<sup>5</sup> which imposes the duty of divesting the self of everything except its intrinsic spiritual essence (*drṣṭi*). When a person has accomplished this *niyoga*, he will be qualified for the other, viz., *jñāna-niyoga*, and success in it will result in *mokṣa*. Such is the doctrine of *prapañca-vilaya-vāda*. We have explained it on the basis of a double *niyoga*, for that seems to explain best the somewhat indiscriminate use of the terms *jñāna-niyoga* and *prapañca vilaya-niyoga* in describing

1. Cf. Śankara's Sūtra-bhāṣya कस्य वा नियोगनिष्ठतया मोक्षो अवाप्तव्यः ।, Śrī-bhāṣya न नियोगनिष्ठायां मोक्षाख्यं फलम् ॥

2. See e. g., Tīkā on st. 383 of the Sāmbandha-vārtika.

3. See Sāmbandha-vārtika, st. 383.

4. See Ibid. st. 395 (com.) ज्ञानकामस्य प्रपञ्चव्यसे नियोगः ॥ See also Śrī-bhāṣya p. 252.

5. Br. Up. III. iv. 2.

the doctrine in the works consulted; <sup>1</sup> and, our explanation has the support for instance of *Brahma-vidyābharana*. <sup>2</sup> It is of course possible that the terms stand for two distinct schools of thought, though even then, the distinction would be only formal and not material as, in both alike, the ultimate Reality would be conceived as *nirguṇa*. But such a conclusion seems hardly probable.

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1. Cf. passages referred to in Notes 24, 27 and 29.

2. अन्ये तु वदन्ति । 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः' इत्यादिवाक्यैरमृतत्वकामस्य साक्षात्कारो निष्प्रपञ्च-  
ब्रह्मगोचरो विधीयते । तादृशसाक्षात्कारश्च प्रपञ्चप्रविलयं विना नोपपद्यत इति प्रपञ्चप्रविलयद्वारा निष्प्रपञ्च-  
ब्रह्मसाक्षात्कारोपयोगि निष्प्रपञ्चब्रह्मोपासनं विधीयते ॥ (Kumbhakonam Edition, p. 623).

## UPANIṢADIC METRE.

BY

P. G. GOPALAKRISHNA AIYAR, M.A.,  
*Lecturer in English, University College, Rangoon.*

### PART I.

The traditional method of teaching the Vedas has been guilty of neglecting their metrical aspect; the Vedic reciter or reader is punctilious in the matter of his accent; but his appreciation of rhythms, at least as judged from the way he recites or reads, is very little. Not that he is to blame: it is extremely difficult to bring out both accent and metrical rhythm at the same time; and the preservation of the accent at all costs has certainly been of the greatest service to posterity. But it is hard to resist the conviction that in early times Vedic poetry was recited in a manner that brought out its metrical rhythms also. For, if it did not, there could have been no prosodic development. There is, however, overwhelming evidence to such a historical development. It is quite possible to enunciate the principles of metrical structure and trace the lines of metrical development—that is, to write a history of Sanskrit prosody.

The early metrical Upaniṣads are of great importance to the student of this Prosody. On the one hand they contain some of the very best achievements of the old dispensation; on the other, they represent the transition to the new, or an earlier stage in this transition. There are passages in them, the metrical art of which leaves one wondering, if, after all, the classical poets, and particularly the dramatic poets, did not make a fatal mistake in giving up the older Triṣṭubh altogether<sup>1</sup> and developing in its place, by a process of disintegration, the four-times repeated pāda rhythms of their prosody.

The intensely dramatic dialogue between Naciketas and Death that forms the prologue to a great philosophical poem—the first two and the final chapters of the Śvetāśvatara are veritable prosodic treasures (if indeed manner can be assigned an entity distinct or apart from matter in great poetry). These poets understood the art of continuous versification varying and modulating their rhythms to the requirements of the moment and

1. Kālidāsa indeed used it once with tremendous effect in the Śakuntala iv अमी वेदिं परितः क्लृप्तधिष्ण्याः etc., but he used it as a conscious archaism.

achieving in the result organic metrical wholes—which on the large scale is the essence of epic and on the small scale the essence of lyric and dramatic forms. There is besides a goodly sprinkling of perfect lines and stanzas on occasions when they rise to the 'height of their argument'—the description of the Indescribable Brahman. The Muṇḍaka is the work of a comparatively inferior craftsman, rather mechanical in his verses; but he seems to have been something of a bold experimenter. The composer of the Kena shows more command. Like the Kaṭha and Śveta poets, he has an impressive opening, including a short poem with the magnificent refrain

तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥

————— the achievement of which consists in the contrast between the emphatic hammer strokes of the successive longs of the first half and the skipping shorts of the second half suggesting the summary dismissal of the false notions of the Brahman. The Īśa has no distinction about it, but it is so short that no opinion of the poet's formal skill can be formed.

✓ As features of the transition the student notes the twelve-syllabled Triṣṭubh, the lessening of hiatus and the split semi-vowel, the steady tho' sure emergence of the Upajāti stanza by the time of the Śvetāśvatara, the gradual ascendancy of the Śālinī over the Vāṭormi groups, the greater freedom in the disposition of the cæsura noticeable as he passes from the Kaṭha to the Śveta, the experiments (probably) of the Muṇḍaka poet who could not have stood alone, the practical disappearance—or all but disappearance of the Vedic Anuṣṭubh of four pādas (with di iambic endings), and the very near approximation to the octosyllables of the epic Śloka. ✓

The distinguishing feature of the old Triṣṭubh is its free combinations of various pre-and post-cæsural metrical groups in the same stanza. Using a later terminology, we can describe the principle as a free interchange of Upajāti<sup>1</sup> and Śālinī-Vāṭormi groups and lines. When these and similar terms are used in connection with the Vedas and Upaniṣads, it must be remembered that the Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Śālinī, Vāṭormi and other metres were later developments from the Older Triṣṭubh and not basic entities out of which the older poets concocted mixed rhythms as the compilers of prosodic manuals will lead one to believe. To the Vedic poet, the cæsura was the

1. Against the demands of strict accuracy, the term Upajāti is used here to denote the rhythms of the later Indravajrā and Upendravajrā and their Jagati forms.

pivot of the line on either side of which could be used one of many metrical groups. In fact this is the *raison d'être* of the cæsura as apart from the sense pauses. They were thus able to vary the pace of their verse to an extent that was impossible in later Triṣṭubh poetry.<sup>1</sup> Note, for instance, the effect of the gradual slackening of speed in the following stanza, until it ends in the slow full-volumed Śālinī of the last pāda.

एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरं Śā. 4 + Upa. 6 (Jag.).

वृणीष्व वित्तं चिरजीविकां च । Upa.

महाभूमौ नाचिकेतस्त्वमेधि Vā.

कामानां त्वा कामभाजं करोमि ॥ Śā.

(Kāṭha I-24.)

The same effect is seen in the closing stanza of the justly famous Yoga piece (Śve. II-15), which slows down from pāda to pāda till the triumphant Śālinī close, suggesting as it does the lapsing into the All. The whole passage deserves to be studied in great detail for its prosody; it has all the smooth facility of the best classical verse and retains enough of the older and freer art to produce subtle rhythmic modulations. It is also notable for its skilful distribution of secondary pauses; in one stanza the verse actually *runs on* from pāda to pāda.

Here is the passage which will bear repetition many times over. Śve. II-8-15. ✓

विरुन्तं स्थाप्य समं शरीरं हृदीन्द्रियाणि मनसा संनिरुद्धय ।  
 ब्रह्मोडुपेन प्रतरेत विद्वन् द्योतांसि सर्वाणि भयावहानि ॥  
 प्राणान्प्रपीडयेह स युक्तचेष्टः क्षीणे प्राणे नासिकयोच्छ्वसीत ।  
 दुष्टाश्वयुक्तमिव बाहमेनं विद्वान् मनो धारयेताप्रमत्तः ॥  
 समे, सुचौ, शर्करा वह्नि वालुकाविर्वजिते शब्दजलाश्रयादिभिः ।  
 मनोनुकूले, न तु चक्षुपीडने गुहा विवाताश्रयणे प्रयोजयेत् ॥  
 नीहारधूमाकानलानिलानां खयोतवियुत्स्फटिकाशनीनाम् ।  
 एतानि रूपाणि पुरःसराणि ब्रह्मण्यभिव्यक्तिकराणि योगे ॥  
 पृथ्व्याप्यतेजोऽनिलखे समुत्थिते पञ्चात्मके योगगुणे प्रवृत्ते ।  
 न तस्य रोगो न जरा न मृत्युः प्राप्तस्य योगाग्निमयं शरीरम् ॥  
 लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्णप्रसादं स्वरसौष्टवं च ।  
 गन्धः शुभो मूलपुरीषमल्पं गोगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमां वदन्ति ॥  
 यथैव बिम्बं हृदयोपलिप्त तेजोमयं भ्राजते तत्सुधातम् ।

1. This loss was partially made up for by the extreme suppleness which the śloka attained.



तद्वात्मत्वं प्रसमीक्ष्य देही एकः कृतार्थो भवते वीतशोकः ॥  
 यदात्मतत्त्वेन तु ब्रह्मतत्त्वं दीपोपमेनह युक्तः प्रपश्येत् ।  
 अजं ध्रुवं सर्वतत्त्वैर्विशुद्धं ज्ञात्वा देवं मुच्यते सर्वपाशैः ॥

These poets also made poetic capital out of their freedom, though sparingly used, to use a Jagatī in a Triṣṭubh stanza.<sup>1</sup> One can point to the sudden accession of eloquence in the Jagatī close of Kāṭha I-33. This entire speech of Death is no less notable for its metrical perfection than the Śveta piece mentioned above. It is well worth quoting.

शतायुषः पुत्रपौत्रान्वृणीष्व बहून्पशून् हस्तिहिरण्यमश्वान् ।  
 भूमेर्महदायतनं वृणीष्व स्वयं च जीव शरदो यावदिच्छसि ॥ २३ ॥  
 एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरं वृणीष्व वित्तं चिरजीविकां च ।  
 महाभूमौ नचिकेतस्त्वमेधि कामानां त्वा कामभाजं करोमि ॥ २४ ॥  
 ये ये कामा दुर्लभा मर्त्यलोके सर्वान्कामान्छन्दतः प्रार्थयस्व ।  
 इमा रामास्सरथास्सतूर्या नहीदृशा लंभनीया मनुष्यैः ॥  
 आभिर्मत्प्रताभिः परिचारयस्व नचिकेतो मरणं मानुप्राक्षीः ॥ २५ ॥

The solemnity of Death's appeal crowned by his overflowing pity is well suggested by the slow swell of the Śālinīs and Vātormis reaching a climax in the hypermetrical Vaiśvadevī opening (————) of the penultimate pāda and the abrupt fall of the pyrrhic opening of the final pāda. Even the long ninth, that goes against the grain of the Triṣṭubh, and almost invariably produces a discord is in this last verse made to serve a splendid purpose. So does Naciketas's violent exclamation in answer (26) श्वोभावा मर्त्यस्य यदन्तकैतत् displace the cæsura for once to fine effect. Nor did these poets disdain the (to *them* humbler) aids of alliteration and assonance on occasion. One feels the pointed sting and decision in the sound of or the arresting tone of enquiry in

जीविष्यामो यावदीशिष्यसि त्वं, वरस्तु मे वरणीयः स एव ॥  
 केनेषितं पतति प्रेषितं मनः केन प्राणः प्रथमः प्रैति युक्तः ।  
 केनेषितां वाचमिमां वदन्ति चक्षुः श्रोत्रं क उ देवो युनक्ति ॥

1. The Jagatī is the regular 'hypermetrical' Triṣṭubh got by splitting its final long (intrinsically or prosodically so) into an iamb producing a pleasing overflow effect.

2. The whole of the dialogue is, if one may say so without irreverence, an exhibition piece—a magnificent model of dramatic verse-conversation of the stately order,

Change of metre was another effective device. Often it denoted a change of topic. In the second chapter of the Kāṭha is a wonderful change of metre from Triṣṭubh to Anuṣṭubh in the course of Death's speech. He has been slowly leading to the central doctrine of the Brahman by characteristic approaches on the negative side; then when he feels that the youthful seeker's mind has been rendered sufficiently receptive for the grand initiation, that the moment for transference of occult power has arrived, he utters the Om at the end of a Triṣṭubh series and abruptly *declares* the Brahman in a couple of full weighted Anuṣṭubhs एतद्वेवाक्षरं ब्रह्म एतद्वेवाक्षरं परम् ॥ (Kāṭha. II-16-11).

The psychological moment fructified, the thrill of the initiation over, he relapses into Triṣṭubh and continues the negative characterisation in न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चित् etc., (It is here that the stanza beginning हन्ता चेन्मन्यते हन्तुं occurs, which the Gītā quotes). So towards the end of the third chapter following the parable of the chariot picturesquely elaborated in Anuṣṭubhs comes the exhortation

उत्तिष्ठत, जाग्रत, प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत ।

क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति ॥

in a broken mixed stanza which the Swāmi Vivekānanda chose as a bugle call to rouse his decadent countrymen.

Enough has now been said to indicate the high quality of the verse in these early metrical Upaniṣads. It must, however, be pointed out that the appreciation of the earlier prosody requires some preliminary effort on the part of the reader fresh from the classical rhythms. He has first to get the pāda rhythms of classical metres out of his head and accustom himself to the rhythm of the individual metrical groups and their more important combinations especially those that do not occur in later poetry. Otherwise his ear after hearing an opening of four longs, will expect a Śālinī sequel, and when instead of this, an Upajāti group is heard, it gets confused and seems to hear disturbed or broken rhythm; similarly when a Śālinī or Vātormī group (of 7) follows an opening with a short third, which he would naturally expect to be completed in Upajāti measures.

We shall now proceed to the formal theory of Upaniṣadic metre.

*The Anuṣṭubh.* The Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh is well on the way to the epic śloka of two *ardhas* or hemistiches; each *ardha* being made up of two halves, a prior and a posterior which have respectively for their normal second feet ~ — — ~ and ~ — ~ = Hopkins in "The Great Epic of India"



has a full and final presentment of the epic and purāṇic śloka. (The present writer deals with the classical śloka in the course of an article on Aśvaghoṣa to be shortly published in The Journal of the Burma Research Society). We shall only note here that the Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh shows traces of the vedic stanzaic practice, that is an occasional prior pāda with a di iambic end (the Gāyatrī stanza and the trochaic Anuṣṭubh have disappeared). There are also instances of all the possible kinds of Vipulās<sup>1</sup> in the odd pādas, the स's and त's not being negligible. And also the later restrictions or restricting tendencies in the matter of cæsura, opening feet and finals in Vipulā verses have not yet set in.

The Upaniṣadic Anuṣṭubh has evolved into the śloka form; but it is much freer than the later orthodox type and less musical on the whole though individual passages as for instance in Kaṭha III and Śvetāśvatara have sufficient metrical merit. Other features such as 'long' ('hypermetrical') and 'short' ('catalectic') verses, mixed stanzas of Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh will be noted and discussed later on.<sup>2</sup>

The Triṣṭubh is by far the more important metre and deservedly so. It has got rid of most of the unrhythmical forms of Vedic practice, while retaining all its freedom—indeed, in the matter of group combinations, it

1. A Vipulā is a variation on the normal second foot of the odd pāda.  $\sim \sim \sim \sim$ ,  
(न)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim$ , (म)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim$ , (म)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim$  (र)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim$  (स)  $\sim \sim \sim \sim$  (त)  
 $\sim \sim \sim \sim$  (ज) di iamb). Only the first three normally occur in classical śloka.

#### A NOTE ON THE ANUṢṬUBHS.

Total number of lines in the 5 Upaniṣads about 460. First foot. (that is first 4 syllables)

	Iamb $\sim \sim \sim \sim$	Pyrrhic $\sim \sim \sim$	Trochee $\sim \sim \sim \sim$	Spondee $\sim \sim \sim \sim$
Odd Pādas.	(40) 19%	(15) 7%	(59) 27%	(102) 47%
Even Pādas.	(4) 2—	(23) 11—	(72) 33	(115) 54—

Very irregular lines have been left out of account.

#### Vipulas.

No. of odd lines.		Na	bha	ma	ra	ta	sa	Ja. (di iamb)
116	Kaṭha	3	9	4	1	2	1	4
24	Īśa	—	—	3	—	3	1	
22	Muṇḍaka	3	2	1	2	—	2	
42	Śveta	3	1	—	—	—	—	2
20	Kena	2	2	1	0	2	1	2
		11	14	9	3	7	5	8

Percentage 20 which is about double the percentage in normal classical śloka. (Allowance has been made for repetitions of the same verse—The di iambs have been excluded.

is freer. Witness the large number of twelve-syllable Triṣṭubhs (as distinct from the long lines or Jagatīs). The term 'contaminated' or hybrid which Arnold gives to such forms (Vedic Metre) is certainly inapplicable to the Upaniṣadic dodekas; they are not aberrations or abnormals; but quite as legitimate as the 11-syllabled ones.

✓ The cæsura, as already pointed out, is the pivot of the line. (As in the Veda it usually falls after the fourth or fifth syllable. But there is a tendency to throw it backward or forward by a syllable noticeable in the later Śvetāśvatara. This is, in other words, a first step in the gradual weakening of the cæsura's hold on the Upajāti). There are a number of pre- and post-cæsural groups and theoretically any one of the former may be combined with any one of the latter, though in practice only a few of these combinations form the staple of the verse while some do not occur at all.

The cæsura always implied a definite pause; and hence made possible slight variations from the normal in its neighbourhood on either side without affecting the basic rhythm; for instance a pre-cæsural short very often takes the place of a long, the apparent defect in quantity being made up for by the pause.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes an extra syllable intrudes after the pause, the rhythmic variation thus introduced being not much different in nature from that produced by an initial extra.

In the earliest Vedic times, the alternative groups Śālinī 7 and Vātermī (— ◡ — — ◡ — ◡; , ◡ — — ◡ — ◡) rose in this way; the poet, concerned primarily with the metrical group, making no difference between a group-initial and a pāda-initial; the Vātermī was perhaps the original type of which the Śālinī was a variant; in the same manner is to be explained the Vedic post-cæsural Upajāti group, — ◡ — ◡ — — a variant on the normal predominant type, ◡ — ◡ — — —. The present writer is inclined to explain the rare groups (Rg Vedic again), ◡ — — — ◡ — — — and , ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — 2 as due to initial reversal of rhythm after cæsura in the Śālinī 7 and Upajāti 7 that is, an iambic in the place of trochee 3. Classical poets employed the device of rhythm reversal in deriving a number of metres with a lisp

1. In the Rg Veda pre-cæsural shorts probably amounts to a fourth of the total number of verses.

2. There is an epidemic of this group in certain groups of hymns. See, for instance, the hymns from the 7th Book given in Macdonnell's Vedic Reader.

3. It may be charged to irrelevant pedantry to adduce a parallel from English. Or, one may point to the post-cæsural trochee in Milton's and Chaucer's verse for instance.

close from other metres already established. The Svāgatā derived from the Rathoddhata is the type of this class.

This is the place to consider the Triṣṭubh which for convenience sake may be called the Tribrach medial Triṣṭubh. It has the scheme  $\approx - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \approx$  and is historically of very great importance as the parent of a whole host of classical metres, chief of which is the Vasantatilakā. Hopkins seems to regard it as a separate type whereas it is really in most cases an Upajāti 5 with precæsural short and in the rest an Upajāti 4 with post-cæsural short.  $\approx - \approx - \cup \cup - \cup - -$  or  $\approx - \approx - \cup \cup \cup - \cup - -$ . The latter is much rare than the former; the number of sure cases in the Upaniṣads with  $\cup \cup \cup - \cup - -$  is extremely small. It is only natural that this should be so; even in the Ṛg Veda post-cæsural freedom was exercised much less than precæsural; in Upaniṣadic times it had almost become an archaism. That the classical poets and prosodists were aware of the fact is evident from their omission to make of it a separate metre as they did with the Upajāti and Śālinī-Vātormī when disintegrating the older Triṣṭubh.

The following is a list of the metrical groups prevalent in the Upaniṣads, names such as 8 Śālinī, Vātormī being really but a convenient borrowing from later terminology.

#### PRE-CAESURAL.

{	$\approx - \cup -$ ,	Upajāti (cæsura after 4) opening	Upa 4.
	$\cup - \cup - -$ ,	Do. ( Do. 5)	Upa 5.
	$( \cup - \cup - - \cup )$ ,	Do. ( Do. 6)	Upa 6) Not normal.
{	$\approx - - -$ ,	Śālinī-Vātormī opening	Śā 4.
	$\cup - - -$ ,	Vaiśvadevī opening	Vai 5.
{	$\cup \cup - -$ ,		Short-second A.
	$\cup - \cup - -$ ,		Short second B.

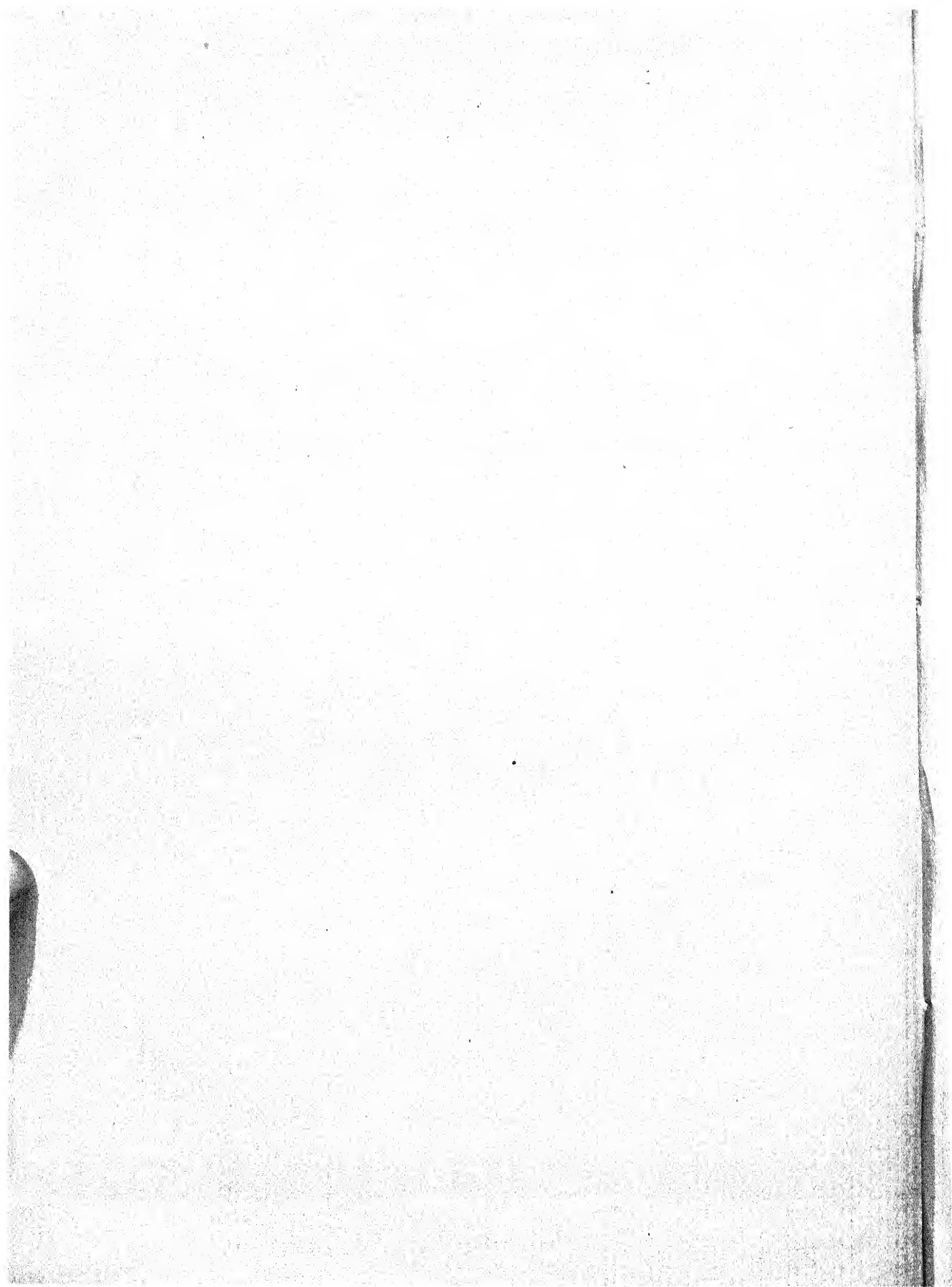
#### POST-CAESURAL.<sup>1</sup>

{	$, - \cup \cup - \cup - \approx$	Upajāti close of 7	Upa 7.
	$, \cup \cup - \cup - \approx$	Do. of 6	Upa 6.
	$( , \cup \cup - \cup - \approx )$	Do. of 5	Upa 5) Not normal.
{	$, - \cup - - \cup - \approx$	Śālinī close	Śā 7.
	$, \cup \cup - \cup - \approx$	Vātormī close	Vā 7.
	$, \cup \cup \cup - \cup - -$	Tribrach Upajāti close	trb 7.

All the pre-cæsural groups may have a short in the place of the final long; and all the post cæsural groups may have their Jagatī variations. It

1. The post-caesural groups may *theoretically* be divided into a 'break'  $- \cup \cup$  or  $\cup \cup$  or the variants of these and a cadence  $- \cup - \approx$ . Whether, in its origin the cadence was a distinct entity in itself and if so, what significance it had are very obscure points. Western scholars *assume* the break and the cadence. However, in Upaniṣadic Prosody, the 'cadence' in itself has lost all significance.

is to be understood that the Trīṣṭubh includes the Jagatī for our purposes the more so as the latter has practically no separate existence in the Upaniṣads. (There is a unique instance in the Kāṭha of a Vamśastha stanza III. 15 closing the exhortation उत्तिष्ठ जाग्रत already mentioned. Another occurs in the Yoga piece-already quoted in the Śveta. There is no other.)



## THE DATE OF MĀNIKKAVĀCAKAR.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.,

*Principal, Sri Minakshi College, Chidambaram.*

The question of the date of Māṇikkavācakar has evoked considerable discussion from about 1905. Before then, there was no means of fixing the date of this great Śaiva saint of the Tamil land. The only reference which Māṇikkavācakar makes to contemporaries, that is at all likely to be helpful in determining his age, is contained in his *Tirukkōvaiyār* and this reference is to Varaguṇa, a Pāṇḍya king. But before 1905 no Varaguṇa was known to South Indian Epigraphy. In fact the only Varaguṇa that we had knowledge of, was a king of the legend of the vision of Śivalōkam in the Tiruvilaiyāṭal. But since 1905 the discovery of the Cinnamannūr plates has revealed the existence of two kings of the name of Varaguṇa who were related as grandfather and grandson. It is very likely that the grandson Varaguṇa lived in the later half of the 9th century A. D. as it is very probable that he is the same king as the Pāṇḍyeśvara Varaguṇa who was defeated in the battle of, Śrīpurambiya, as is mentioned in the Udayentiram plates of the Gaṅga King Pṛthivīpati II. The late Mr. V. Venkayya in editing the Ambāsamudram stone inscription of Varaguṇa discovered a little before the Cinnamannūr plates remarked (E. I. Vol. IX, p. 89) "the great Śaiva saint Māṇikkavācakar mentions the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa twice in his *Tiruccirrambalakōvaiyār*. The time of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār who probably flourished in the 8th century A. D. is the upper limit of the date of Māṇikkavācakar who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tiruttonṭattokai*, i. e., the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. It may therefore be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa, and if there was only one king of that name the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A. D." Mr. Venkayya, however, was not very clear in his mind about the conclusiveness of his argument and he took care to say two years later in 1909 (Tam. Anti. No. 3, p. 6): "The date of Māṇikkavācakar is to my mind not quite satisfactorily settled. From two references to the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the Tirukkōvaiyār I tentatively assigned the saint



to the middle of the 9th century. The existence of an early Pāṇḍya king bearing the name Varaguṇa is not precluded. Consequently the tentative date assigned by me may have to be altered in the light of future researches." Mr. Venkayya's caution was very commendable. But it has not been maintained by the epigraphists who have succeeded him and it seems to have become almost an article of faith with epigraphists to stick to a 9th century date for Māṇikkavācakar.

It will be noticed that even Mr. Venkayya would not assign a greater antiquity to Māṇikkavācakar than the age of Sundaramūrti, that is to say, the middle of the 8th century A. D., because of the omission of Māṇikkavācakar's name from the *Tiruttonṭattokai*.

The age of Māṇikkavācakar has been discussed very fully from different points of view by Messrs. K. G. Sessa Ayyar and T. Ponnambalam Pillai in the pages of the *Tamilian Antiquary*. Mr. Sessa Ayyar's arguments which need not be reproduced here appear to me to be a complete refutation of the position of the epigraphists. And Mr. Pillai has arrived at a conclusion very similar to that of Mr. Sessa Ayyar arguing from the standpoint of the Christian church of Malabar.

Minor considerations apart, the age of Māṇikkavācakar must depend on our answer to two or three main questions: Was Māṇikkavācakar the earliest of the Śaiva saints who preceded the *Tēvāram Trio* or did he come after them? Is it a fact that he is not mentioned in the *Tiruttonṭattokai*? If it is, how can we account for this omission? Let us look into these questions in some detail.

Māṇikkavācakar does claim that the miracle of the transformation of foxes into horses was performed by Śiva on his account to save him from the consequences of his master's wrath. There are at least half a dozen references to this fact in the *Tiruvācakam*, among which attention may be drawn in particular to the *double entendre* in line 17 of the *Tiru Ammānai*, the direct personal references in line 45 of the *Tirupponnūcal* and the vivid impressionist reference to the miracle in lines 25 and 26 of the *Ānandamālai*. Then Appar, by general consent, the earliest of the three *Tēvāram* hymnists does refer to this miracle and also to a Vācaka in a manner which seems to leave no room for doubt that it is a reference to our saint. This last reference was explained very clearly by the veteran scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Swaminatha Ayyar in the light of two later Sanskrit Purāṇas at pages 66 and 67 of his edition of the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam* of Perumparrappuliyūr Nampi and it must be noted that the Pandit's explanation was given years



before the controversy started between epigraphists and literary critics as to the age of Māṇikkavācakar. Again there is the fact that, in all the lists of Pāṇḍya kings that have come down to us, the contemporary of Māṇikkavācaka, Arimardana by name, is placed several generations before Jñānasambandha and his contemporary Kūṇ Pāṇḍya. These lists are not perhaps very valuable to the historian but the state in which we find them is clear proof of the traditional belief that Māṇikkavācakar preceded Jñānasambandha by many years. It must also be noticed that Māṇikkavācakar's life and history occupy an earlier and somewhat more conspicuous place in the cycle of the Madura sports of Śiva and that it has not been possible to recognise so far any clear epigraphical references except to the last of the kings in the lists given in the versions of these stories. It seems a natural inference to make from all this, that Māṇikkavācakar, the antagonist of the Buddhists, was older than the saints of the age of Jñānasambandha whose chief contests appear to have been with the Jains.

We shall now turn to the Tiruttonṭattokai. Let us assume for a moment that the name of Māṇikkavācakar does not appear in this list. Even then, it is quite arguable that this omission was an accident or was probably due to some reason which was present in Sundaramūrti's time and is now unknown to us; and in any case it is clear that an argument from silence cannot be pressed very far—and that especially, in the face of such evidence as has been summed up in the preceding paragraph. But does Sundaramūrti not mention Māṇikkavācakar? Mr. Sesha Ayyar has pointed out with great plausibility that the expression பொய்யடிமையில்லாத புலவர் in Sundaramūrti's list does refer to our saint as it fits in very well with the traditional history of his life and doings.

Mr. Venkayya indeed remarked *apropos* this suggestion as follows:—

"Mr. K. G. Sesha Ayyar who has assigned Māṇikkavācakar to the fourth century A. D. has called in question the authority of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi for the explanation of the term Poyyaṭimaiyillāta-Pulavar which occurs in the Tiruttonṭattokai. I am not quite prepared to follow Mr. Sesha Ayyar in thus overthrowing the tradition current at the time of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi". Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi and his successors have regularly interpreted this expression as a reference to the poets of the Madura *cankam*. This interpretation does not strike one as the most natural. Mr. Sesha Ayyar's, on the other hand, when viewed apart from Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi's authority, must commend itself to any unbiassed reader of the Tiruttonṭattokai. And great as must be the authority of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in

matters of religion and theology, I have no hesitation in declaring with Mr. Sesha Ayyar that the theory involved in his interpretation of the Tirutontattokai seems to be, much of it, wrong. My point and I believe Mr. Sesha Ayyar's also is that continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite possible with a break in secular historical tradition. For an illustration I may refer to the case of another saint mentioned in the Tirutontattokai, Ceruttunai by name. This saint is referred to by Sundaramūrti as a king of Tanjore, Tañcaimannavan. Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi makes no mention of his having been a king at all evidently because in his day nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore. And a little later Ceikkiḷār in his Periyapurānam actually makes a rich cultivator (வேளாண் குடி முதல்வர்) of this king of Tanjore. It is thus clear that Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi and his successors were not always able to interpret Sundaramūrti correctly and there is therefore nothing unnatural in supposing that they went wrong over the expression Poiyyaṭimai-illāta-Pulavar. Our conclusion therefore is that Māṇikkavācakar must be taken to have preceded the *Tevāram Trio* and that the Vāraguṇa referred to in the *Tiruccittampalakkovaiyār* must have been an earlier Pāṇḍya king, than any king of the same name yet known to epigraphy.

# FORGOTTEN KĀRIKĀS OF KUMĀRILA.

By

PANDIT K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI,

*Nyāyamīmāṃsā Śiromaṇi, Central Library, Baroda.*

To the Madras session of the All-India Oriental Conference the present writer contributed a paper entitled *Kumārila and the Brhātṭikā* wherein he drew the attention of scholars to a number of verses found mainly in the works of the Prābhākara school<sup>1</sup> of Karma Mīmāṃsā and attributed to one Vārtikakāra who was identified with Kumārila, though these verses could not be traced in his three existing works. (*Vide* Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, pages 523-529.) Attention of scholars was also drawn in that paper to a number of references from the works of the Bhāṭṭa school such as the Nyāyasudhā<sup>2</sup> of Someśvara and the Nyāyaratnākara<sup>3</sup> of Fārthasārathi Miśra to a work entitled *Brhātṭikā*, and reasons were also adduced to show that Kumārila was the author of the *Brhātṭikā*.

In the present paper additional reasons are being advanced in support of this theory as a result of further investigation on the subject in certain Buddhist and Jain philosophical works. The most important material is however furnished by a Buddhist work entitled the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. In the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda will soon be published the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita who was a Professor in the Nālanda Monastery. This work is accompanied with a commentary by Kamalaśīla who was a disciple of Śāntarakṣita.<sup>4</sup>

Mainly from the Tibetan sources it has been proved that Śāntarakṣita was born in Bengal during the reign of Gopāla the first king of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal. (*Vide* Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*).<sup>5</sup> He lived for about 57 years and died in 762 A. D. The accuracy of this date is made more probable by the fact that the Tibetan translation of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* was made by a Kashmirian Pandit Guṇākara-śrībhadrā who was a contemporary of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir

1. Rjuvimalā, M.S. pp. 86, 144, and Prakaraṇa Pañcikā, Vākyārtha, p. 17, etc.

2. Pp. 329-330 and 393.

3. P. 452.

4. The *Tattvasaṅgraha* has since been published. [Ed.]

5. P. XIV.

(A. D. 693-729).<sup>1</sup> Thus it is quite reasonable to believe that the author of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* flourished in the first half of the 8th century. His disciple Kamalaśīla who commented on his work was his younger contemporary. This work of Śāntarakṣita consists of nearly 4,000 Kārikās composed in *Anuṣṭubh* metre and is divided into 26 Parīkṣās or examinations. In each of these Parīkṣās Śāntarakṣita refuted the leading philosophical systems propounded before his time ranging from 400 B. C. to 700 A. D. A careful study of this monumental work of Śāntarakṣita will supply much new and useful information for determining the history of Indian philosophy during that period. The data presented here to prove Kumārila's authorship of a work called *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* are mainly based on the references made in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* both by the author and the commentator to a large number of verses attributed to Kumārila. Among them some are indeed traceable in Kumārila's available works while others are not. While refuting the other systems of philosophy, Śāntarakṣita's procedure is to quote extensively from the works of his opponents wherever possible and then to refute their views in his own way. The views of no less than thirty-two representative writers on Indian philosophy, including Hindu, Buddhist and Jain, are quoted by Śāntarakṣita and among them Kumārila and Uddyotakara stand pre-eminent. Fortunately however, some of the works of Kumārila being in Kārikā-form Śāntarakṣita got an opportunity of mentioning his views by quoting his own Kārikās while representing him as an opponent in the majority of the examinations into which the work is divided. In the same way he quoted the actual compositions of Bhāmaha, Bhartṛhari, Vasubandhu, Diṇnāga, and Dharmakīrti whose works happened to be in metrical form: While quoting their Kārikās, though he does not mention the names of the respective authors, his disciple and commentator Kamalaśīla supplies the required particulars while commenting on the text: Thus these two authors happen to refer to many Kārikās of Kumārila among which only some are traceable in the available works of the latter while many others are not. From this we can conclude that either there was a different work of Kumārila which was accessible to Śāntarakṣita who flourished only half a century after Kumārila, and was lost to us subsequently, or that there are some omissions in the printed edition of the *Ślokavārtika* because the untraceable Kārikās are quoted along with many other Kārikās of the *Ślokavārtika* and all these Kārikās are connected with each other to represent a well-established argument. But the latter alternative would

1. See S. C. Vidyabhushana's *Indian Logic*, p. 324.



hardly be possible as the two available commentaries on the Ślokavārtika by Pārthasārathi and Sucaritamiśra explained the text as it is now available in print. But on the authority of Śāntarakṣita, however, it is possible to maintain that there was another work of Kumārila where the author treated the same topics as are to be found in the Ślokavārtika with further details and additional grounds to establish the same arguments, and this leads us further to infer that the Ślokavārtika was an abridged form of this more extensive work. Śāntarakṣita's references to Kumārila's Kārikās and his views cannot be called in question because he flourished within half a century after Kumārila. Nor can Kamalaśīla's testimony be called in question because he was a direct disciple of Śāntarakṣita and probably received instruction direct from him.

In this connection we are also able to definitely settle the date of Kumārila on which a good deal of controversy is still going on. Kumārila must have flourished between A. D. 620-680 as we can learn from the under-mentioned facts.

I-Tsing's testimony leads us to infer that Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadīya, who was criticised in the Tantravārtika by Kumārila<sup>1</sup> died in 650 A.D. Dharmakīrti who is held from Tibetan sources to be a contemporary of Kumārila was not mentioned by Hiuen Tshang but was referred to by I-Tsing (670—695 A. D.). Pārthasārathi's commentary on the Ślokavārtika where Dharmakīrti is frequently referred to as *Bhikṣu*<sup>2</sup> and the Kāśikā of Sucaritamiśra<sup>3</sup> lead us to infer that Dharmakīrti was criticised by Kumārila. *Ubbeyaka* or *Umvēka* or Bhavabhūti, a disciple of Kumārila and a contemporary of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj and Lalitāditya of Kashmir commented on Kumārila's Ślokavārtika (*vide* Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary on the Śāstradīpikā pp. 2, 14, 30).<sup>4</sup> The date of Bhartṛhari is approximately 600—650 A. D. Dharmakīrti (Cir. 600—650 A. D.) also belongs to the same period. Bhavabhūti is referred to in the Tattvasaṅgraha<sup>5</sup> and is a direct disciple of Kumārila and a contemporary of Lalitāditya, Yaśovarman, and Vākpatirāja; and he may therefore be assigned to the period between 655-725 A. D. That being so, to fix Kumārila's time becomes quite

1. *Vide* B.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. 18, pp. 214-215.

2. Pp. 144, 361, etc.

3. B.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. 18, p. 230.

4. उक्तं भट्टोन्वेकेन — “ग्रन्थारम्भेऽभिमतदेवतानमस्कारं करोति वार्तिककारः” इति ॥ etc.

5. P. 812.

an easy matter. Bhavabhūti must have admitted himself as a disciple of Kumārila at the age of 20 (which seems to be the most reasonable time when serious study can begin) and remained under him for five years more. This will bring us down to A. D. 680 as the latest date for Kumārila. Had he died at the age of sixty his date of birth would have fallen somewhere about 620 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

Now let us cite a few more instances to prove that Kumārila composed another elaborate work of which the Ślokavārtika is only a digest :—

(1) To establish the doctrine of self-dependent validity or *Svataḥprāmānya* of all *Vijñānas*, Kumārila writes in the Ślokavārtika—

स्वतः सर्वप्रमाणानां प्रामाण्यमिति गृह्यताम् ।

न हि स्वतोऽसती शक्तिः कर्तुमन्येन पार्यते ॥

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षता भवेत् ।

लब्धात्मनां स्वकार्येषु प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव तु ॥

Ślo. Vā. p. 60.

Here in the second verse it is stated that all entities require the help of causes for their own production only, but not for the production of their own effects. But this argument will not be complete unless it is explained with a suitable example in support of the *Svataḥprāmānya* of *Vijñāna*. On noticing this discrepancy in this particular argument in the Ślokavārtika the commentator Pārthasārathi Miśra endeavours to supply the further information required in the following manner :—

सर्वे हि भावाः स्वात्मलाभायैव स्वकारणमपेक्षन्ते । घटो हि मृत्पिण्डादिकं स्वजन्मन्येवापेक्षते, नोदकाहरणेऽपि । तथा ज्ञानमपि स्वोत्पत्तौ गुणवदितरद्वा कारणमपेक्षतां नाम ।

स्वकार्ये विषयनिश्चयेत्वनपेक्षमेव ॥ न्यायरत्ना- p. 60.

This supplementary information to the verse आत्मलाभे etc., was obviously supplied by the commentator from some elaborate work of Kumārila's own composition and we feel ourselves happy when we meet with them again in Śāntaraksita's *Svataḥprāmānyaparīkṣā*. Let us quote them :—

1. For further details about the date of Kumārila see Dr. B. Battacharya's Foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*.

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षितेष्यते ।

लब्धात्मानः स्वकार्येषु वर्तन्ते स्वयमेव तु ॥ २८४८ ॥

सामान्येन भावानामात्मलाभं प्रति कारणापेक्षितां प्रतिपाद्य ज्ञानेऽपि योजयन्नाह—

उत्पादमात्र एवातो व्यपेक्षास्ति स्वहेतुषु ।

ज्ञानानां स्वगुणेष्वेषा न तु निश्चयजन्मनि ॥ २८४९ ॥

यदेवं कथं तर्हि तेषां तत्र हेतुभावो भवतीत्याह—

जनने हि स्वतन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यार्थविनिश्चितेः ।

स्वहेतुनिरपेक्षाणां तेषां वृत्तिर्घटादिवत् ॥ २८५० ॥

घटादिवदिति दृष्टान्तमाचष्टे—

मृत्पिण्डदण्डचक्रादि घटो जन्मन्यपेक्षते ।

उदकाहरणत्वस्य तदपेक्षा न विद्यते ॥ २८५१ ॥

No careful reader would fail to detect the correspondence between the extract from Pārthasārathi and the above verses quoted by Śāntarakṣita and ascribe the authorship of the latter to Kumārila as these are found among other quotations of his composition. This view is further strengthened when we examine the following verses containing Śāntarakṣita's refutation of the above :—

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षितेष्यते ।

लब्धात्मानां स्वकार्येषु प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव तु ॥ २९२१ ॥

अथ ज्ञानेऽपि कस्मान्न युज्यत इत्याह—

यत्तु ज्ञानं त्वयापीष्टं जन्मानन्तरमस्थिरम् ।

लब्धात्मनोऽसतः पश्चाद्वापारस्तस्य कीदृशः ? ॥ २९२२ ॥

घटादिवदिति दृष्टान्तस्यासिद्धिं प्रतिपादयन्नाह—

जन्मातिरिक्तकालश्च क्रियाकालो न विद्यते ।

क्षणिकत्वाद्धटादीनामित्यसिद्धं निदर्शनम् ॥ २९५५ ॥

The last quoted verse 2955 seems to presuppose Kumārila's illustration given in 2851 supra.

In ascribing these verses to Kumārila we also get further support from a Jain philosophical work by Abhayadevasūri who, flourished in the first half of the 10th century according to the Jain records.<sup>1</sup> In his commentary

1. See S. C. Vidyabhuṣaṇa's Indian Logic, p. 196.



on the *Sammatitarka* of Siddhasena Divākara (published in the Gujarat Purātattvamandir at Ahmedabad) Abhayadeva quotes many verses attributed to Kumārila, Vārtikakāra or Bhaṭṭa, most of which are traceable in the available works of Kumārila. While stating the views of Kumārila in the course of the discussion on *svataḥprāmānya* he quotes many verses from the Śloka-vārtika, of which these two also occur on page 4.

किञ्चोक्तम्—

आत्मलाभे हि भावानां कारणापेक्षता भवेत् ।

लब्धात्मनां स्वकार्येषु प्रवृत्तिः स्वयमेव तु ॥ Ślo. Vā. page 60.

तथाहि-मृत्पिण्डदण्डचक्रादि घटो जन्मन्यपेक्षते ।

उदकाहरणे त्वस्य तदपेक्षा न विद्यते ॥ इति ॥

Now it is clear that Abhayadeva also ascribes the authorship of these verses to Kumārila in the same way as Pārthasārathi and Śāntarakṣita are inclined to do.

(2) Continuing the statement of Kumārila on the *svataḥprāmānya*, Śāntarakṣita again quotes Kumārila's views thus :—

मौलिके चेत्प्रमाणत्वे प्रमाणान्तरसाध्यता ।

तत्र तत्रैवमिच्छन्तो न व्यवस्थां लभेमहि ॥ २८५३ ॥

यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानं तत्संवादमपेक्षते ।

संवादेनापि संवादः पुनर्मृग्यस्तथैव हि ॥ २८५३ ॥

कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत स्वत एव प्रमाणता ।

प्रथमस्य तथाभावे प्रद्वेषः केन हेतुना ॥ २८५५ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha, page 757.

In the Śloka-vārtika, however, we find a summarised statement of the first two verses and the third sloka *in toto*.

सङ्गत्या यदि चेष्येत पूर्वपूर्वप्रमाणता ।

प्रमाणान्तरमिच्छन्तो न व्यवस्थां लभेमहि ॥

कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत स्वत एव प्रमाणता ।

प्रथमस्य तथाभावे प्रद्वेषः किं निबन्धनः ॥

Ślo. Vā. pages 68-69.

While refuting this view of Kumārila, Śāntarakṣita proceeds thus :—

यदुक्तं—यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानमित्यादि—तत्राह—

अतश्च प्रथमं ज्ञानं तत्संवादमपेक्षते ।

संवादेनापि संवादः पुनर्भृग्यस्तथैव न ॥ २९७२ ॥

“कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत” इत्यादावाह—

भ्रान्तिहेतोरसद्भावात्त्वतस्तस्य प्रमाणता ।

प्रथमस्य तथाभावे प्रद्वेषो भ्रान्तिसंभवात् ॥ २९७३ ॥

This systematic refutation of Kumārila's views with some alteration in his own verse, and the presence of some Kārikās in the Tattvasaṅgraha which are to be met with in the Śloka-vārtika, certainly lead us to think that Śāntarakṣita quoted these verses from some other and more elaborate work of Kumārila of which the Śloka-vārtika may be a summary. This presumption regarding the verses above-stated is also strengthened by the citation of the same verses in some of the Jain philosophical works.

Abhayadevasūri while stating Kumārila's view on the same topic quotes these two Ślokas and introduces them as तदुक्तं “यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानं etc., and कस्यचित्तु यदीष्येत and adds a third Śloka in the same connection, which runs thus :—

संवादस्याथ पूर्वेण संवादित्वाद्यप्रमाणता ।

अन्योन्याश्रयभावेन न प्रामाण्यं प्रकल्पते ॥ इति ॥

Again we get quite a reliable citation of these three verses under the name of Bhaṭṭa himself, in a Jain work *Syādvādaratnākara* by Vādidevasūri who flourished in the second half of the 11th century. (See S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Indian Logic*, page 198). On page 124, line 5 of the *Syādvādaratnākara* published at Ahmedabad we find Kumārila quoted in the following manner :—

यदाह भट्टः—यथैव प्रथमं ज्ञानं . . .

कस्य चित्तु यदीष्येत . . .

संवादस्याथ पूर्वेण . . .

Here the word Bhaṭṭa undoubtedly stands for the great Mīmāṃsā philosopher Kumārila Bhaṭṭa as he is mentioned in the same book in many places, where his Kārikās form the Śloka-vārtika are quoted.

(3) In the Śloka-vārtika, page 61 we find a Kārikā which states the opinion of Kumārila on the *Svataḥpramāṇya* and it reads thus :—

तस्माद्बोधोक्तत्वेन प्राप्ता बुद्धेः प्रमाणता ।

अर्थान्यथात्वहेतुत्यदोषज्ञानादपोह्यते ॥ ५३ ॥

But we find 11 Kārikās in the Tattvasaṅgraha explaining the same conclusion of Kumārila in place of the one above referred to. Let us quote them :—

तस्मात्त्वतः प्रमाणत्वं सर्वत्रौत्सर्गिकं स्थितम् ।

बाधकारणदुष्टत्वज्ञानाभ्यां तदपोह्यते ॥ २८६२ ॥

परायत्तेऽपि चैतस्मिन्नानवस्था प्रसज्यते ।

प्रमाणाधीनमेतद्धि स्वतस्तच्च प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ २८६३ ॥

प्रमाणं हि प्रमाणेन यथा नान्येन साध्यते ।

न सिध्यत्यप्रमाणत्वमप्रमाणात्तथैव हि ॥ २८६४ ॥

तुल्यजाताश्रयत्वे हि प्रतिष्ठा नोपपद्यते ।

विजातेस्त्वन्यहेतुत्वादृढमूलप्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २८६५ ॥

बाधकप्रत्ययस्तावदर्थान्यत्वावधारणम् ।

सोऽनपेक्षप्रमाणत्वात्पूर्वज्ञानमपोहते ॥ २८६६ ॥

तत्रापि त्वपवादस्य स्यादपेक्षा पुनः क्वचित् ।

जाताशङ्कस्य पूर्वेण साप्यल्पेन निवर्तते ॥ २८६७ ॥

बाधकान्तरमुत्पन्नं यद्यस्यान्विष्यतोऽपरम् ।

ततो मध्यमबाधेन पूर्वस्यैव प्रमाणता ॥ २८६८ ॥

अथानुरूपयत्नेन सम्यगन्वेषणे कृते ।

मूलाभावान्न विज्ञातं भवेद्बाधकबाधकम् ॥ २८६९ ॥

ततो निरपवादत्वात्तेनैवाद्यं बलीयसा ।

बाध्यते तेन तस्यैव प्रमाणत्वमपोह्यते ॥ २८७० ॥

एवं परीक्षकज्ञानत्रितयं नातिवर्तते ।

ततश्चाजातबाधेन नाशङ्क्यं बाधकं पुनः ॥ २८७१ ॥

उल्लेक्षते हि यो मोहादजातमपि बाधकम् ।

स सर्वव्यवहारेषु संशयात्मा क्षयं व्रजेत् ॥ २८७२ ॥

This series of 10 Kārikās from 2862—2871 are also found quoted in the *Sāmmatitarkatīkā* (page 18) of Abhayadevasūri who ascribes them to Bhaṭṭa and which are preceded by the following line :—

एतेनैतदपि निराकृतम् । यदुक्तं भट्टेन—

“तस्मात्स्वतः प्रमाणत्वं etc.

Again Abhayadeva in another place in the same work (op. cit. page 8) ascribes the 11th Kārikā [2872] to one Vārtikakāra—

आवेदितं हि वार्तिककृता—

“आशङ्केत हि यो मोहादजातमपि बाधकम् ।

स सर्वव्यवहारेषु संशयात्मा क्षयं व्रजेत् ॥” इति ॥

These Kārikās cited by both Śāntarakṣita and Abhayadeva under the name of Bhaṭṭa lead us to infer the existence of a different but a more elaborate work of Kumārila where these Kārikās should have found a place.

(4) Pārthasārathi Miśra in his *Nyāyaratnākara*, the commentary on the Śloka-vārtika, while commenting on a line of Kumārila—

पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासामुदाहरणविस्तरः ॥ P. 452.

asks us to see the elaborate exposition of *Arthāpatti* in a work called *Bṛhaṭṭika* where the explanation begins with the Kārikā :— श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायां etc., and says thus— अर्थापत्त्यन्तराणामुदाहरणपूपः पक्षदोषावसरे श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्यादिना बृहटीकायां दर्शितः” This work *Bṛhaṭṭika* must have been composed by Kumārila himself as has already been shown by me elsewhere (see Third Oriental Conference Proceedings page, 523). Again it would be quite clear if we refer to the same Kārikā, श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायां etc., occurring in the *Anumānaparichheda* of the Śloka-vārtika where Kumārila states the different kinds of *Pakṣadoṣas* in *Anumāna*. This also shows that Kumārila in his *Bṛhaṭṭika* illustrated the occurrence of *Pakṣadoṣas* in *Anumāna* in a more lengthy discussion than that which we meet with in the Śloka-vārtika, with further examples of *Arthāpatti* as is evident from the phrases :—उदाहरणविस्तरः and बृहटीकायां दर्शितः ।

In the last three Parikṣās, contained in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* on the subject of *Śrutiprāmānya*, *Svataḥprāmānya* and *Sarvajña*, Śāntarakṣita refutes Kumārila's views quoting his own Kārikās as can be proved by a statement of Kamalaśīla at the end of the *Sarvajñāparikṣā* :—

एतावत्कुमारिलेनोक्तं पूर्वपक्षीकृतम् । अधुना सामटयज्ञटयोर्मतेनाह—

*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 844.

Among those Kārikās quoted by Śāntarakṣita for the purpose of refutation, many are indeed traceable in Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika while many others intermingled with the traceable ones though referring to the same topic, are not to be found there. A perusal of the index of sources in the edition of the Tattvasaṅgraha, by its editor Pt. Embar Krishnamacharya, will help scholars to ascertain the cogency of my argument and to see what a large number of Kārikās are quoted by Śāntarakṣita from the Śloka-vārtika. We are however fortunate enough to be able to attribute some of the Kārikās (quoted by Śāntarakṣita in the last three *Parikṣās* though not traceable in the Śloka-vārtika) to Kumārila on the strength of some Jain philosophical works where the Kārikās in question are cited under the name of either Kumārila or Bhaṭṭa.

Let me cite some specimen Kārikās from the Tattvasaṅgraha and compare them with identical stanzas in Jain literature and the Śloka-vārtika as well. In the Śrutiparīkṣā of Tattvasaṅgraha, for instance, while quoting Kumārila's view on the validity of Śruti, the following Kārikās occur:—

ममाप्रमाणमित्येवं वेदोऽर्थं बोधयन्नपि ।  
 वक्तुं न द्वेषमात्रेण शक्यतेऽसत्यवादिना ॥ २१११ ॥  
 द्वेषादसम्मतत्वाद्वा न च स्यादप्रमाणता ।  
 न च ग्रीत्यभ्यनुज्ञाभ्यां प्रमाणमवकल्पते ॥ २११२ ॥  
 द्विषन्तोऽपि च वेदस्य नैवाप्रामाण्यकारणम् ।  
 किञ्चिजल्पन्ति ये नैते भवेयुः सत्यवादिनः ॥ २११३ ॥  
 धारणाध्ययनव्याख्या कर्मनित्याभियोगिभिः ।  
 मिथ्यात्वहेतुरज्ञातो दूरस्थैर्ज्ञायते कथम् ॥ २११४ ॥  
 अभिमुक्ता हि ये तत्र तन्निबद्धप्रयोजनाः ।  
 तत्रत्यगुणदोषाणां ज्ञाने तेऽधिकृता यतः ॥ २११५ ॥  
 ये तु ब्रह्मद्विषः पापा वेदादूरं बहिष्कृताः ।  
 ते वेदगुणदोषोक्तीः कथं जल्पन्त्यलजिताः ॥ २११६ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha p. 590.

In this series of Kārikās only the first two are found in the Śloka-vārtika (pp. 73-74) though with some slight alterations, but not the remaining ones. The other Kārikās धारणाध्ययन—etc., up to the end are however found quoted under the name of Kumārila in a Jain work *Pramāṇakṣema*



by Jineśvaraśūri. This Jain author is the brother of Buddhisaṅgara who was a contemporary of King Durlabhadeva of Pattan and an author of a grammatical work *Pañcagranthī* composed in V. S. 1080 or 1024 A. D. (See Jessalmere MSS. Catalogue (No. 21 in the Gækwad's Oriental Series page 55) Jineśvaraśūri therefore must have flourished in the first half of the 11th century, as may be seen from his work *Aṣṭakāvṛtti* in which he gives the date of its composition. In page 60-A, Jineśvaraśūri commenting on his own Kārikā—धारणाध्यायनेत्यादि नाक्रोशः फलवानिह— etc., quotes these lines and refutes Kumārila's views with the preamble पुनः कुमारिलेनोक्तम्—“धारणाध्ययन व्याख्या etc. On the strength of this reference we can undoubtedly ascribe the authorship of these lines to Kumārila.

(2) In the *Śrutiparikṣā* while stating Kumārila's view on *Apauruṣe-yatva* Śāntarakṣita quotes three Kārikās of his as follows:—

वेदस्याध्यायनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

वेदाध्ययनवाच्यत्वादधुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥ २३४२ ॥

भारतेऽपि भवेदेवं कर्तृस्मृत्या तु बाध्यते ।

वेदे तु न स्मृतिर्याऽपि सार्थवादनिबन्धना ॥ २३४३ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha p. 643; Śloka Vā. p. 949.

कथमयमर्थोऽवसित इत्याह—

अतीतानागतौ कालौ वेदकारविवर्जितौ ।

कालत्वात्तद्यथा कालो वर्तमानः समीक्ष्यते ॥ २३४४ ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha p. 643.

Among these three, the first two are indeed to be found in the Śloka-vārtika but the last one is not present there. When we refer to the Sammatitarkaṭikā (p. 31) we find this last verse quoted there without any introductory sentence. But the same Kārikā is found cited by Jineśvaraśūri on page 54-B of his work with the preamble यदुक्तं कुमारिलेन—“अतीतानागतौ etc. The authorship of this Kārikā also therefore should be ascribed to Kumārila.

(3) In the *Sarvajñāparikṣā* contained in the Tattvasaṅgraha, Śāntarakṣita, while stating an argument of Kumārila for refutation, quotes a number of his Kārikās, many of them being not traceable in the Ślokavārtika. Several Jain works however definitely ascribe their authorship to Kumārila. For instance the Kārikā—

सर्वज्ञेषु च भूयस्सु विरुद्धान्योपदेशिषु ।

तुल्यहेतुषु सर्वेषु को नामैकोऽवापार्थताम् ॥ ३१४८ ॥



is not found in the Ślokavārtika, but Jineśvarasūri in his work Pramālakṣma on page 68-B fixes up its authorship by saying—यदुक्तं कुमारिलेन “सर्वज्ञेषु च भूयस्सु etc.”

(4) Similarly there is another Kārikā in the Tattvasaṅgraha which runs thus:—

सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति का प्रमा ।

अयोभावपि सर्वज्ञौ मतभेदस्तयोः कथम् ॥ ३१४९ ॥ p. 822.

It is not found in the Ślokavārtika; but is ascribed to Kumārila by Laghusāmantabhadra in his commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrī of Vidyānanda and who lived about 1,000 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Moreover there is another set of Kārikās of a similar nature :—

आत्मानमुत्कर्षयन्नाह—

(१) यथा नकुलदन्ताग्रस्पृष्टा या काचिदोषधिः ।

सर्वं सर्पविषं हन्ति क्रीडद्भिरपि योजिता ॥ ३१५५ ॥

(२) वेदवादिमुखस्थैवं युक्तिलौकिकवैदिकी ।

या काचिदपि शक्यादिसर्पज्ञानविषापहा ॥ ३१५६ ॥

कापुनरसौ काचिदुक्तिरित्याह—

(३) यस्य ज्ञेयप्रमेयत्ववस्तुसत्त्वादिलक्षणाः ।

निहन्तुं हेतवः शक्ताः को नु तं कल्पयिष्यति ॥ ३१५७ ॥

(४) एकेनैव प्रमाणेन सर्वज्ञो येन कल्पते ।

नूनं स चक्षुषा सर्वान्नसादीन्प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ३१५८ ॥

(५) यज्जातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु यज्जातीयार्थदर्शनम् ।

दृष्टं सम्प्रति लोकस्य तथा कालान्तरेऽप्यभूत् ॥ ३१५९ ॥

(६) येऽपि सातिशयादृष्टाः ब्रह्ममेधादिभिर्नराः ।

स्तोकस्तोकान्तरत्वेन नत्वतीन्द्रियदर्शनात् ॥ ३१६० ॥

Tattvasaṅgraha pp. 824-825.

Here the first three Kārikās are not to be found in the Ślokavārtika but they represent a continuous argument and as such must belong to a more elaborate work of Kumārila, because the second and third Kārikās are definitely ascribed to him in the Pramālakṣma of Jineśvarasūri where he says:—यदुक्तं कुमारिलेन वेदवादिमुखस्थैवं etc. pp. 67A, 69A.

1. See S. C. Vidyabhushana's Indian Logic p. 197 and B.B.R.A.S. Vol. 188, p. 228 foot notes.

Again the fourth and fifth Kārikās are traceable in the Ślokavārtika (page 80), though it is not so in the case of the sixth. But this also is found in the Sammatīṭīkā of Abhayadevasūri (page 49) quoted under the name of Vārtikakāra along with a number of other Kārikās traceable in the available works of Kumārila. They are—

वार्तिककृताप्यभिहितम्—

यजातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु etc. Śl. Vār. page 80.

पुनरप्युक्तम्—

येऽपि सातिशया दृष्टा etc. (unknown source).

यत्राप्यतिशयो दृष्टः स स्वार्थानतिलङ्घनात् ।

दूरसूक्ष्मादि दृष्टौ स्यान्नरूपे श्रोत्रवृत्तिता ॥

Ślokavārtika p. 80.

Furthermore, the same Kārikā येऽपि सातिशयादृष्टा etc. is found cited under the name of Bhaṭṭa in the *Āptaparīkṣa* (page 54) of Vidyānanda<sup>1</sup> or Patra-kesariswāmin (published in the Sanātana Jain Granthamālā Series as No. I, We therefore see no harm in ascribing the whole set of Kārikās to Kumārila.

(6) In the commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha, Kamalaśīla introduces the Kārikās 3108 to 3113 with the under-mentioned preamble, showing Kumārila's authorship :—

निश्चितनिर्दोषकृताख्यातत्वमिष्यतामित्यत्र कुमारिलस्योत्तरमाशङ्कते—

रागद्वेषादियुक्ता हि etc.

But these six Kārikās also are not to be found in the Ślokavārtika.

It is rather strange that none of these Kārikās, ascribed definitely to Kumārila by the above-mentioned Jain and Buddhist writers of great reputation, is found in his three available works. It is therefore easy to infer that Kumārila was the author of another more extensive work wherein he dealt with very nearly the same topics as he did in his Ślokavārtika with greater fullness of detail and more elaborate discussion. If it is a work of Kumārila, it must represent the *Bṛhaṭṭikā* as suggested by Pārthasārathi and

1. This Vidyānanda has been placed by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa about 800 A. D. on the authority of Jinasaṇa's Ādipurāṇa composed in 838 A. D. (See Indian Logic, page 183) As Vidyānanda in his Aṣṭasāhasrī quotes the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika of Sureśvara who was a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya (788—820, he is believed to have lived early in the 9th century A. D.

it will not be far from truth to hold that the Ślokavārtika is only a digest of this excellent work entitled the Brhaddikā, which is unfortunately no longer existent, save in a few references to and quotations from it in Indian philosophical literature.

## STUDIES IN THE THREE KERAĻA ERAS.

BY

K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A.,

*Principal, Sanskrit College, Tripunithura.*

There have been current in KeraĻa three eras and these are :—(i) The *Perumāl Abda*, (ii) The *Kolla Varṣa*, and (iii) The *Putu-Vaiṣṇu*. Of these, the first exists only in name and the last has become obsolete, while the second alone is in current use. The *Perumāl Abda*, superseded probably about the beginning of the 9th century by the *Kolla Varṣa*, might have been current throughout the whole land, while the *Putu-Vaiṣṇu* era was current only in mid-KeraĻa, *i. e.*, that portion of KeraĻa which was under the sway of the Cochin Royal Family.

These eras are never found used outside KeraĻa, and, may, therefore, be treated as pure *KeraĻa* or *Malayāli* eras. It is also significant that no era, other than this, is ever found used here. This statement is, however, subject to the reservation that in religious matters the date is generally given in *Kali* era, or as is the case amongst the naturalised east coast Brahmins, in *Vikrama* or *Śaka* era. This reservation yields an interesting suggestion that the KeraĻa Eras have their origin in purely political or social circumstances. In view of this, the importation of any religious aspect into these eras could be accepted only with great hesitation and even that, only if there be positive evidence forthcoming.

Since at least two of these eras are practically unknown outside,<sup>1</sup> a note about these may not be uninteresting.

### 1. *The Perumāl Abda.*

Existing as it does only in name, this era has come to be handed down to posterity, thanks chiefly to the solicitous care of the astrologers entrusted with the work of preparing calendars. No KeraĻa document has yet been come across earlier than the 9th century, and, since by this time the *Kolla Varṣa* was inaugurated, documentary evidence for this era appears impossible to get. It may, however, be believed that this era might have been

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1. The first and the last of these are not referred to in the Indian Ephemeris.

current in the land, till the time of the introduction of the *Kollam era*, i. e., till 825 A.D. This *Abda* completed one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine years on the 12th April 1926. It must, therefore, have been inaugurated in 427 A.D. and may have been current in the land for three hundred and ninety eight years. And the fact that, in spite of its complete supersession with the dawn of the *Kolla Varṣu*, it has continued to be handed down to posterity through the long sweep of one thousand and one hundred years, clearly testifies to the great hold that the Perumāls have ever had upon the imagination of the Malayālis.

No definite information is available as to the circumstances which led to the inauguration of this era. The *Kali* chronogram which has preserved for the era the date of its origin may be interpreted to suggest the circumstances which gave birth to it. The Chronogram reads '*Svargam-Sadehaḥ-Prāpa*.'<sup>1</sup> This statement, tradition connects with the '*passing away*' of the last of the Perumāls and the consequent break-up of the Perumāls' all-Keraḷa sovereignty. From this one may conclude that this era was founded to commemorate a political event of no small magnitude to the Malayālis, namely the end of that noble line of Imperial Sovereigns and the beginning of a new order in the political horizon of Keraḷa.'

What was the new order of things in the Keraḷa politics, ushered in by the break-up of the Perumāls' empire? A definite answer to this question is impossible in this present imperfect state of our history. Any answer that may be given can be based only on current tradition and floating legends, and it can at best be only a tentative theory. In the light of these, the change brought about appears to be of the following nature.

For various reasons, the exact nature of which cannot be known for want of authentic records, the last of the Perumāls thought it desirable to end the kind of sovereignty he was invested with.<sup>2</sup> He is, therefore, reported

1. This, when worked out, gives 1,288,724 days from the beginning of Kali Yuga.

2. The Perumāls were the all-Keraḷa Sovereigns who were not mere figure-heads, but sovereigns actively exercising in full all the Royal powers and prerogatives which were as vast as they were varied. This is not to be understood as implying that they were autocrats responsible to none; there were, indeed, many wholesome constitutional checks to curb the power of the King, the Government being of the nature of a limited monarchy. There were representative and popular assemblies, according to the deliberations of which the sovereign had to conduct himself in all matters social, religious or political. The country was divided into provinces presided by governors who were directly responsible to the Perumāḷ on the one side and to the provincial legislature on the other. Such appears to have been the sway of the Perumāls which, according to tradition, continued down till 427 A.D.



to have divided his kingdom amongst his lords and nobles and provincial governors. These newly set-up chiefs were not, however, declared fully independent. There is abundant reason to hold that they were all to be the feudatories of an imperial overlord. This newly created all-KeraĻa overlord, there is reason to believe, must have been none other than the Perumpaṭṭappe Mūppil<sup>1</sup>. For to him, the Perumāḷ is reported to have given all the emblems of the all-KeraĻa sovereignty, namely, the imperial crown<sup>2</sup> and sceptre, the jewelled breast-plate hung on by gold chains, the imperial capital and the Family shrine,<sup>3</sup> and to him, therefore, it is legitimate to hold that all the new chiefs were to swear the oath of fealty and allegiance. He further appears to have exercised it in public once every twelve years by the performance of the Māmāmkam ceremony, when every Malayāḷi chieftain was forced to be present in all the paraphernalia of his power and state and acclaim him as his Imperial Overlord.<sup>4</sup>

The all-KeraĻa Overlordship that is here maintained for the Cochin Royal Family is based also on some positive evidence available from the Portuguese records. These generally refer to him as the 'King of Cochin,' but sometimes as the 'Emperor of KeraĻa'. It is stated therein that 'the Kings of Cochin are considered to be the spiritual head of all the Kings in Malabar,'<sup>5</sup> that 'they had in former days some sort of supremacy over all the Kings of Malabār,'<sup>6</sup> and

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1. This is the traditional nomenclature of the Māhārāja of Cochin. Perumpaṭṭappe Svarūpam is the name of the Royal Family.

2. This Crown is referred to by Rājendra Coḷa, when he conquered Tiruvañcikuḷam. The Crown and the jewelled breast-plate are amongst the State jewels.

3. The capital was at Tiruvañcikuḷam. The shrine is the shrine of Vañculeśa at Tiruvañcikuḷam. The intimate relation of the Māhārāja of Cochin to this shrine is well attested to by the title Gaṅgādhara Tykkoil Adhikārikal Vira KeraĻa, etc., still affixed to His Highness' name.

4. There are, indeed, no records available to prove that the Perumpaṭṭappe Mūppil ever performed a Māmāmkam ceremony. But there is a strong and persistent tradition to the effect that the Zamorin uniformly prevented him from doing it, by force of arms, for this chief was much more powerful than the overlord. When he had continuously prevented him from doing it, he himself assumed the overlordship and began to perform it, when his own feudatories and vassals acclaimed him Emperor. This tradition shows that the original right of performing it was vested in the Māhārāja of Cochin, and if he was not performing it, it was because he was not powerful enough to go against the Zamorin—a fate that was common to all feudal overlords.

5. See De Conte, Decade VI, Book VIII, Chapter II; also I.H.Q., Vol. II. No. 1, pp. 184-185.

6. See footnote to Chapter XVIII, Book VII, Decade IV of Barros; also Contos, Book IX, Chapter III.



further that 'all the Kings of Malabar had to get their investiture from the King of Cochin.' In support of this last statement, there is also recorded as interesting practice about the Zamorin's coronation, which definitely shows him to be a feudal vassal of the 'King of Cochin'. The Zamorin's coronation, according to these records, was to be conducted at the court,<sup>1</sup> and by the King of Cochin. The heir to the masnad had to go to the latter, give up his kingdom and make it over to the King of Cochin and then take it back from him after his coronation.<sup>2</sup> During the ceremony he was to be seated on a marble slab on which was to be engraved the name of the Zamorin and the date of his coronation. In later days,<sup>3</sup> the ceremony used to be conducted at Paḷḷiyarakkāvu near Cirakkal Palace in Rāmeśvaram village at Cochin. Chafing at this continued exhibition in public, of his vassalage to the King of Cochin, the Zamorin got the marble stone removed to the *hāja* of Iḍapilly (Reppelin of the Portuguese) where he used to conduct it subsequently. In the thirties of the 16th century there was a Zamorin's coronation. As usual the heir-apparent came down to Iḍapilly, but he was opposed by the Portuguese, defeated and forced to retire. The latter were also able to seize the sacred marble which was handed over to the King of Cochin who deposited it in the pagoda.<sup>4</sup> Thereafter the Zamorin put a stop to the practice of getting crowned elsewhere; but built a temple near his own palace and used to be crowned there. There is an interesting record and it clearly attests the feudal nature of the Zamorin's kingship and the overlordship of the Perumpaṭṭappe Mūppil.<sup>5</sup> When the Zamorin, the most powerful of all the Keraḷa Chiefs, was himself the vassal of the King of Cochin and was forced to acclaim him as his overlord, the vassalage of the other kings need not be dwelt upon, for every other Malayāḷi chief was the vassal of either the

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1. See Decade VII, Book X, Chapter XII, pp. 534-40.

2. The same authority significantly adds that 'the King of Cochin had the right of giving the kingdom of the Zamorin to anybody he liked'—an aspect which clearly attests the supremacy of Cochin.

3. See Decade V.

4. This incident is described as taking place in December 1536 A.D. It is not clear from the records which the Pagoda was where the stone was deposited. It may possibly be the Paḷḷiyarakkāvu temple itself.

5. No mention is here made of the Travancore Royal Family, because at the time we are speaking of and even long after, this was but a petty 'Zemindari' in south Keraḷa owing allegiance to the overlord of Kerala, as seen from the Jewish copper plate. It rose into power and influence only during the 18th century, becoming however the most important power before its close.

King of Cochin or of the Zamorin even during historic times. It will thus be seen that the all-KeraĻa overlordship maintained for the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil is not a matter of mere tradition but is borne out by records.

The overlordship of the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil,<sup>1</sup> it deserves to be pointed out, was quite different from that exercised by the Perumāḷs. The latter was real and active, while the former was nominal and passive. The newly created chiefs were only the officers of the Perumāḷs, while they became so many royal chieftains under the new overlord. Thus the overlordship of the Mūppil was more or less feudal in nature.

Thus the change introduced by the last of the Perumāḷs may have consisted in the break-up of the Imperial sovereignty and the creation of a number of feudatory kingdoms with the 'King of Cochin' as their suzerain. It might have been to commemorate such a change that the *Perumāḷ Abda* was begun.

## II. The Kolla Varsa.

This Era was inaugurated in 825 A. D. and has since been in vogue throughout the whole KeraĻa. Different views are put forth regarding the circumstances leading to its inauguration. Some hold that this era commemorates the founding of the *Tarisa Church*,<sup>2</sup> as documented in the second Charter granted to the Syrian Christian leader, Mar Sapor by Emperor Sthānu Ravi Gupta about 824 A.D., others, the founding of the town Kollam and still others, the assuming of the Emperorship of all-KeraĻa by Sthānu Ravi Gupta. The first of these views is unacceptable, because it is unlikely that the Malayāḷis would have accepted an era, celebrating the founding of a church. The second cannot be, because the town has been in existence even before 825 A.D. If at all it means anything, it must mean that the town was made the imperial head-quarters, and as such it deserves to be rolled up with the third. And as regards this, scholars have not yet come to any agreement as to who Sthānu Ravi Gupta Cakravarti is. This is a name not generally found connected with any of the ruling families of KeraĻa, and the term

1. It deserves to be pointed out here that the Perumpaṭappe Svarūpam, i.e., the Cochin Royal Family, consisted of five Tavalis or branches and they are :—(1) Eḷaya Tāvali, (2) Mūṭṭa Tāvali, (3) Cālur Tāvali, (4) Muringūr Tāvali, and (5) Pallurūṭṭi Tāvali. Each Tāvali had its court and chief, while the eldest of all the five Tāvalis became the Perumpaṭappe Mūppil exercising the all-KeraĻa overlordship. It appears also probable that though Tiruvañcikulam was the imperial capital, all the overlords may not have, at least in later days, held their court there, but continued to exercise the overlordship, residing at the family head-quarters.

2. Mr. Menon's History of Kerala, Vol. I, pp. 272-273.

*Gupta*, suggests that he is an alien chief. And further what is the nature of the overlordship claimed for, and by, Ravi Gupta, remains yet to be discussed and settled. Pending, therefore, a settlement of these subjects, the third view also deserves to be left alone.

These views being thus discarded, the traditional view of its origin seems to be the most acceptable. According to local tradition the *Kolla Varṣa* was inaugurated in honour of and to commemorate, the various social changes introduced by the venerable Jagat Guru Śrī Śaṅkarācārya—a tradition which is as strong as it is persistent. No objection can be raised against it, historical or otherwise; and the present writer, therefore, accepts this view. Since this era finds currency throughout the whole Keraḷa, and since at this time the country was divided up into a number of minor kingdoms, it may also be presumed that these changes have been accepted and enforced by a Royal Charter issued by a Prince who must have been an all-Keraḷa Overlord.<sup>1</sup>

When once this view is accepted it deserves to be explained how this era has come to be called the '*Kolla Varṣa*.' The term '*Kollam*' may originally have been '*Koluom*' which means Palace.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Kollam era may be taken to mean Palace or court era, *i. e.*, an era promulgated from the court under the authority of a royal writ. This term '*Koluom*' might subsequently have become confused with the name of the town, Or, it might possibly have been that the all-Keraḷa overlord was holding his court at the town '*Kollam*,' and since then the writ might have been issued from there, the era might have come to be so called. Thus either way the name of the era does not create any difficulty in the way of the acceptance of the view, as set forth here.

Some difference also exists in the current usage of this era in the north and south Keraḷa. In the North, the year is taken to begin from the first of Kanni, *i. e.*, about the middle of September, while in the South, from the first of Cingom, *i. e.*, the middle of August. Thus between the North and the South there is the difference of a month in calculating this era. The usual explanation given for this difference is that the promulgated social changes took a month to reach the Ponnāni river from Quilon. It is on the face of it absurd to accept this view for this would necessitate the inaugura-

1. If this may be so, this adds strength to the theory of the overlordship mentioned before.

2. For this view the writer is indebted to Rao Bahadur Mr. P. Narayana Menon, B.A., I.S.O., some time Diwan of Cochin.

tion of the era on different dates in different places, which indeed is not the case. A better explanation appears possible when the exact date of the inauguration of the era is examined. The *Kali-Chronogram* giving the date of its inauguration, runs thus :—‘*Ācāryavāgabhēdyaḥ.*’ On working it out, it will be found to coincide with Thursday the 31st. Cingom 1 M. E., *i. e.*, September 824 and this is probably the date, when the all-KeraḤa Emperor issued his Royal proclamation, giving the numerous social changes the seal of authority. In view of this the difference in the usage may be accounted for on the ground that while the southerners began it from the first of the month in which the proclamation was issued, *i. e.*, with retrospective effect, the northerners began it only from the date on which it came into operation.

From what has been said it may be taken that this era commemorates a new social order. Such an interpretation necessarily raises two questions :—first, whether there was enough scope or necessity during that period for a reconstruction of the Malayāḷi Hindu society, and two, whether the changes introduced were so radical and varied and beneficent as to deserve commemoration by founding an era. In the opinion of the writer the answer to both these questions is decidedly in the affirmative.

It may safely be presumed that the period of the venerable Jagat Guru was a period of great turmoil and unrest in KeraḤa.<sup>1</sup> The popular religion of the land, Buddhism, was, in the first place, rudely shaken by the coming in of Jainism, and when Prabhākara Guru,<sup>2</sup> the brilliant exponent and vigorous champion of the Mīmāṃsa Darśana, came, these non-Hindu faiths were suppressed and the superiority of Hinduism was again asserted. Religion colours, to a very great extent, the social life of the individual and it is especially so in India; and while it may be easy to change one’s religion, it is generally not easy to change the social customs and manners. When the venerable Ācārya came, the prevailing religion of the land was

1. The period of the revered Ācārya is given in the following couplet :—

‘Nidhi nāgebhavahnyabde vibhave Śaṅkarodayaḥ—

Kalyabde candranetrāṅkavahnige śārvarisamaḥ—

Vaiśākhapūrṇimāyāmtu śaṅkaraśśivatāmagāt,’ *i. e.*, the birth of the seer was in 3889 K. E. and death in 3921 K. E.

2. The local tradition is that Prabhākara Guru is a Nambūdiri Brahmin, belonging to the Kāṇipayyūr Mana—a family which has produced in subsequent period a number of distinguished Mīmāṃsaka scholars. The family even now keeps up this tradition and possesses a wealth of manuscripts, bearing on this system of Indian philosophy.

The writer is trying to examine this collection of manuscripts at an early opportunity. The owners thereof have kindly promised to place their library at his disposal, for examination.



Hinduism; but it may legitimately be presumed that the social life of the mass must have been not only full of non-Hindu elements but must also have been characterised by a host of divergent forms and rituals and customs and manners, which, it is also likely, may have been accentuated through the presence of even non-Hindu religions prevalent in the land, namely Christianity, Judaism and probably even Muhammadanism. The influence of so many religions, each colouring the social life of the mass in its own way must necessarily have produced a very complex and confused social order. Significant clues are still available which may substantiate this statement. To mention but one instance, the main branches of the caste Hindu Kerala society consist of Nambūdris, Kṣatriyas, Ambalavāsis and Nairs. Excepting the second, all the other three main branches are again sub-divided into eighteen sub-divisions, each with characteristic differences in their social and socio-religious practices and customs—a something which suggests the original divergent elements constituting the society of old. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the period of the venerable Ācārya was a period, when there was great necessity and abundant scope for a complete reconstruction of the Hindu society of Kerala. The complete conversion of even those professing non-Hindu Indian religions their assignment to certain fixed places in the orthodox Hindu fold, the laying down of rules and regulations to govern the social practices and relations of the various elements of the old society,—in other words, the reorganisation of the complex, confused and heterogeneous Hindu society into an ordered, inter-related and homogeneous whole is the work, achieved by, and generally ascribed to, the venerable Jagat Guru—a work the execution of which was characterised by the felicitous vision of a profound sociologist, moved by a dynamic desire to progress the society to a higher, nobler state of existence, mental and moral, temporal and spiritual. Such was the social organisation created by the revered Ādi Guru, and this is practically responsible for all the achievements of the Malayālis. This, therefore, deserves commemoration, and in doing it by the inauguration of a new era, Malayālis have only expressed their everlasting gratitude towards the venerable Seer of Divine Wisdom.

It may not be out of place to point out here one or two instances to show the nature of the organisation set up by the great Guru. One social regulation traditionally ascribed to him is the convention, obtaining even now, which lays down that in a Nambūdrī family, the eldest son alone could marry in his own caste. The result of this regulation has been that the

other male members have had to go down the social scale to find mates for themselves. This ensured for the lower social orders, Ambalavāsis and Nairs, an opportunity to have marital relationship with the higher cultured Nambūdris and the consequent begetting of children with greater cultural capacity. This had led in due course to the elevation of these lower orders to a position of intellectual and cultural equality with the Nambūdris. Again, this arrangement and the introduction of *Marumakkaiyāy* amongst the non-Brahmin caste Hindus here led to the creation of a leisure class having immense cultural capacity. Freed of all material responsibility, the Nambūdris were able to devote themselves to the cultivation and development of the finer arts of peace and, not rarely, the sterner arts of war. <sup>1</sup> There is, indeed, no branch of knowledge, theoretical or practical, temporal or spiritual, in which one Nambūdri or other has not excelled himself. <sup>2</sup> Thus the organisation of the society was worked up by a revered founder with a view to the further development and the ultimate progress to a higher level of the various heterogeneous elements constituting the then society.

Enough has now been said to show that the period of the venerable Ācārya was a period of great social disorder. The evolving of the order out of the social chaos and its reorganisation are ascribed to the revered Śaṅkara-ācārya; and it is to commemorate this that the *Kolla Varṣa* was inaugurated. Such is the local tradition, and, so far as is now available, there are no records or arguments which necessitate the discarding of the tradition.

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1. It may probably suffice here to point out that the military preceptor of the Cochin Royal Family is a Nambūdri, Perāṭṭupuratte Nambūdri, known generally as Paṇikkar.

2. It will take us too long out of the way to proceed here to substantiate this statement. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with pointing out a few representative names in the more important branches of Hindu learning.

1. *Theoretical*.—Prabhākara and Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris in *Mīmāṃsā Darśana*; Śaṅkara and his successors, the four Mutt Presidents, in *Vedānta Darśana*; Lakṣmidāsa, Kulaśekhara Varma, Śaktibhadra, Rāma Varma, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and a host of other names in the field of literature; Pūrṇa Sarasvati and Kāṭṭumādassa Nambūdri in literary criticism; and the numerous families of professional actors in the field of dramaturgy.

2. *Practical*.—Kīḍangāṣṣeri Mana and Cennos Mana for *Tantram*; Kallūr Mana for *Mantravādam*; the eight hereditary families of physicians for medicine and surgery, Kokkara family for poison cure; Talakulattu Bhaṭṭatiri for astronomy.

This is enough to show that the achievements of the Malayālis have been neither insignificant nor negligent. The subject is proposed to be dealt with at length on another occasion.



The *Kolla Varṣa* may, therefore, be taken as a social era, whereas the *Perumāl Abda* was a political era. The seal of authority for the era must have been given by the highest spiritual authority of the land, the all-Kerala overlord, Perumpatappe Mūppil who in 824 might have been holding his court at Quilon.<sup>1</sup>

As a sequel to the position here arrived at, it deserves also to be stated that during the same period there might have been a necessity for the settlement of the social rights and privileges of the alien religionists also, the Jews and the Christians. From this point of view, therefore, the Jewish and the Syrian Christian plates may also be assigned to this period.<sup>2</sup>

### III. The *Putu-Vaiṭṭu*.<sup>3</sup>

This era has no claim to be called an all-Keraḷa era, for it was current only in mid-Keraḷa, *i.e.*, that portion of the country which was under the direct sway of His Highness the Mahārājā of Cochin. There are records available to show that this era was in current use from 1342 A.D. till about the close of the 17th century, *i.e.*, for over 300 hundred years; and this is purely a Cochin era.

It is generally presumed that this era was inaugurated to commemorate the throwing up of the island, now known as the Vaippin Island.<sup>4</sup> Such a view necessarily creates certain difficulties. If this island was thrown up only in 1342,<sup>5</sup> then surely there could not have been any island before that time. If this be so, it does not appear quite clear how Cochin could have had a land-locked harbour till that time, and how it could have had a small river flowing by its side. For, in the absence of the island it could have been only an open exposed harbour. Again Cranganore could not have been a sheltered natural harbour and there could not have existed any backwaters. In addition to this it may also be pointed out that on this island are situated

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1. The King of Cochin is reported to have had his head-quarters at Quilon also.

2. The writer has shown that the donor of the Jewish plate Bhāskara Ravi Varma Cēramāṇ Perumāl may for more reasons than one be taken to be one amongst the imperial ancestors of the Cochin Royal Family. *Vide* IHQ. Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 184-185.

3. This era is termed here simply *Putu-Vaiṭṭu* without the addition of either *Abda* or *Varṣa*.

4. *Vide* History of Keraḷa, Vol. I, page 161

5. There was an extraordinary flood in 1342 A. B. as a result of which the land-locked harbour of Cochin became converted into a first class natural harbour. This opening up of a new outlet for the Periyar river led to the closing up of the ancient harbour at Cranganore.

two temples which can claim a very high antiquity, one of which tradition puts back to the time of the early Perumāls, while the other, there is every reason to hold, must be put back to the pre-Perumāḷ days. For these reasons this view does not seem to be quite acceptable.

A clue, however, is available for the solution of the origin of this era. In an inscription from the Bhagavati temple at Ūrakam, six miles to the south of Trichur, registered as No. 66 of the Cochin Epigraphical collections, there is a sentence '*Kocci 60 Cennatu*' which may be taken to mean '*when Kocci completed 60 years,*' i. e., in 60 Cochin era. This date more or less agrees with the date given in the Kali Chronogram '*Raviṇā Raciteyam*'. If our interpretation is correct, here is an authentic document which refers to the Putu-Vaippu era as the Cochin Era; and since this is the earliest document available dated in this era, we legitimately presume that this era was originally known as Kocci Era.

If this view is acceptable, and we believe it is, the circumstance which led to the inauguration of this era appears easy to understand. It must have been inaugurated to commemorate the transfer of the imperial capital from Cranganore to Cochin. The closing of the harbour at Cranganore owing to the floods and the consequent loss of its trade and commerce, the creation of an excellent harbour at Cochin, thanks to the same natural cause, and the possibility of the commercial importance in store for it,—these may have been the most important causes which led to this transfer. Other reasons also there were more or less necessitating such a transfer, not the least of it was the continued invasion of the aggressive Zamorin and the necessity for protecting the paternally inherited Cochin from the envious Rāja of Idapilly. The giving up of the traditional capital, which is of such unique historical importance and which is dear as being the ancestral home of the family, and the establishment of the headquarters at a new place, are indeed matters of importance sufficient to justify their commemoration by the inauguration of an era.

According to the view of the writer, then, the real name of the Putu-Vaippu era is the Kocci era and it commemorates not the throwing up of the Vaippin island, but the transfer of the imperial headquarters from

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i. According to tradition, Cochin originally belonged to the Idapilly Chief, who gave it to a Prince of Cochin, born of a Princess whom he married under very romantic circumstances. This incident took place towards the middle of the 12th century as attested by the *Kali Chronogram* 'Kotattu Brahmanadhyam'.

Cranganore to Cochin. This, therefore, like the *Perumāl Abda*, is a political era; and it appears to have been started on the first Cingom 516 M. E. and consequently the months and dates of this era coincide with those of the *Kolla Varṣa*.

As for the name *Putu-Vaiṣṇu era*, it may be believed to have been the popular name, and it may have been based upon some land accretions in the Vaipin island, consequent upon the floods—possibly identifiable with the stretch of low land to the rest of the island which is even now known as Putu-Vaiṣṇu. This popular name may have in time superseded the real name.

In concluding it deserves to be pointed out that these three Malayāli eras have their origin directly connected with the Perumpaṭṭappe Mūppil, *i.e.*, His Highness The Maharaja of Cochin. The *Perumāl Abda* is connected with his assumption of the all-Kerala overlordship, both temporal and spiritual; the *Kolla Varṣa*, with his giving the seal of authority to the numerous social changes introduced by the Venerable Jagat Guru; and the *Putu-Vaiṣṇu*, *alias* the Cochin Era, with the transfer of his imperial headquarters from Cranganore to Cochin.

This takes us to the end of the paper and in concluding the writer may be permitted to point out once more that the views here put forth on the origin of the Eras are merely tentative ones. He, therefore, does not claim any finality for them, for these are liable to be modified in the light of any evidence that may be forthcoming.

## THE DATE OF ŚRĪ ĀṆḌĀL.\*

BY

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR,

(*University Tamil Lexicon Office, Madras.*)

The life of Śrī Āṇḍāl or Kōtai, the great Vaiṣṇavaite maiden saint, who developed such an abnormal love for the Lord that she staunchly refused connexion with mortal men and, in the end, succeeded in wedding herself to Śrī Ranganātha, is a matter of common knowledge. But her age, as is that of many veterans of religion and literature of Ancient India, still remains unsettled. Our attempt in this paper would be to arrive at some reasonable date after discussing all the available materials; we shall, however, first consider the age in which her father flourished, for, once this is settled, her own age would be beyond dispute.

### *The Age of Periyālvār.*

Periyālvār or Viṣṇucitta mentions the Pāṇḍya of his time and gives his name as கௌ-கெடுமாரன்,<sup>1</sup> or Neṭumāran, the king of kings. Māran is a Tamil form of this name that is of frequent occurrence in literature, while the Sanskrit form Māravarman is equally familiar in inscriptions. There are three Māravarman mentioned by the Vēlvikuṭi Plates, of whom the first Māravarman lived about the beginning of the seventh century. The grant which glorifies the achievements of the Pāṇḍyas passes over him quietly. He is not known to be a Vaiṣṇavaite and there is no reason for identifying him with the Pāṇḍya mentioned by the Ālvār. The second Māravarman was a convert to Jainism whom Tirujñāna-Sambandhar reclaimed back to Śaivism. He was accordingly counted as one of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs and there is no basis to regard him as the Ālvār's disciple. The third Māravarman known also as Parāṇkuśan-Māravarman, (prob. 730-67) was, according to the Cinnamanūr plates, the inveterate enemy of Pallava Mallan (717-779). It is this Māravarman that the Ālvār seems to have made his disciple, though he openly professed the Śaiva faith. Besides the Vēlvikuṭi plates mention a prime minister, Māraṇ-kāri, who brought about

\* An abstract from "The Times of the Ālvārs" in Tamil, now through the press rendered into English by Mr. R. Narayanan, B.A.

1. Periyālvār-Tirumoli, 4, 2, 7.

his king's marriage with Bhūsundari, the Ganga king's daughter and died while in service under his son, Parāntakan Neṭun-Caṭaiyan in the third year after his succession. The Ānamalai inscriptions tell us that it was this prime minister and his brother who succeeded him in office that were responsible for the construction of the cave temple of Lord Narasimha at Ānamalai near Madura.

It may not be too much to expect that such a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite minister should have created a favourable atmosphere for Vaiṣṇavism in the Śaiva king's court, and even persuaded him to arrange for a philosophical discussion into the nature of the Supreme Being, in which Periyālvār is said to have been victorious. It is further significant that the village Kaḷakkuṭi<sup>1</sup> where the minister lived is not far away from Śrī-Villiputtūr where the Ālvār lived. The Madras Museum Plates dated the seventeenth regnal year of Māravarman's son and successor Neṭun-Caṭaiyan<sup>2</sup> speak of him as

“பராந்தகன் பாமவைஷ்ணவன் தானாகி

நின்றிலங்கு மணிநீண்முடி நிலமன்னவன் நெடுஞ்சடையன்”

(i. e., Parāntakan-Neṭun-Caṭaiyan, of the long-jewelled crown, Lord of the Earth, who shines in his unique glory as a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite.) The expression ‘in his unique glory as a staunch Vaiṣṇava’ seems to suggest the wonder of the composer of the *prasasti* at the unprecedented phenomenon of the presence of such a staunch Vaiṣṇavaite king among the Pāṇḍyas who, from time immemorial, were Śaivites. Such an extraordinary change, we may be sure, could not have taken place but for the influence of great personalities. This staunch Vaiṣṇavaite Pāṇḍya is named Mārān-Caṭaiyan, while the Ālvār's disciple is Neṭumārān. The connection between these kings will be obvious the moment we perceive the ancient custom of prefixing the father's name to the son's<sup>3</sup> and realise that Mārān-Caṭaiyan was the son of Neṭu-Mārān. It is not difficult to see, therefore, that it was the father whom Periyālvār convinced and induced to enter the Vaiṣṇava fold, while his son who, from youth onwards was the Ālvār's disciple, gloried himself as a staunch and unique Vaiṣṇava and was also known as Śrī-Vallabha as is testified by Gopinatha Rao (T. A. S. Vol. 1 ; p. 189.)

1. The identification of Kalakkaṭu with Kalakkuṭi by epigraphists is incorrect (*vide* “The Times of the Ālvār's.”)

2. Known also as Parāntakan-Neṭun-Caṭaiyan and Marān Caṭaiyan.

3. Thus after the seventh century it was the practice among the Pāṇḍyas that, if the father was named Mārān and the son Śaṭaiyan, the latter was always called Mārān Śaṭaiyan and if the father was Śaṭaiyan and the son Mārān, the latter was called Śaṭaiyan Mārān.



It is worth noting that the Madras Museum Plates make special mention of a peculiar fact not found in the *prāsasti* of any other king. It says that Parāntakan-Netuñ-Ṣaṭaiyan revelled in celebrating the greatness of his Guru as is seen from the statement குருசரிதங் கொண்டாடி. We may not be mistaken in concluding that such a great Guru,<sup>1</sup> was no less a personage than Periyālvār since the same statement finds mention in Guruparamparās also.

Among the achievements of this staunch Vaiṣṇavaite king, the Vēlvikuṭi Plates mention the building of a huge temple for Viṣṇu at the Śaivaite centre Pērūr on the banks of the river Kāñci, popularly known in Kongu-maṇḍalam as Noyyal. This recalls to our memory the lines,

“கொங்குங் குடந்தையுங் கோட்டியூரும் பேரும்  
எங்குங் திரிந்து வினையாடு மென்மகன்,” (பெரியாழ். திரு. 2, 6, 2,)

of the Ālvār. There is no Viṣṇu shrine in Kongu Nāṭu glorified by the Ālvars. Confronted with this difficulty, the commentators took ‘*Koṅkun-Kuṭantaityum*’ as the softened form of ‘*Koṅkuk-kuṭantaityum*’-Kuṭantai (Kumbakonam) rich in fragrance. Read in the light of the above inscription it can be easily seen that it was the huge temple built by his ardent disciple in Kongu-nāṭu that the Ālvār celebrated in his verse.

A brief survey of the history of Religions at the time lends considerable support to the view that Periyālvār should have lived in the 8th century. The seventh century was noteworthy for the rank and turbulent conflicts between the Jains and the Buddhists on the one hand and the Śaivaites and Vaiṣṇavaite on the other. It was that century which called forth into existence such stalwart champions of the Vaidika faiths as Thirujñāna-Sambandhar and Tīru-maḷicai-Ālvār. The Vaidika faiths emerged victorious from this whirlpool of controversy and regained their hold on the masses. The eighth century which followed it was an era of comparative quiet. The most powerful potentates of this century were adherents of the Vaidika faiths—the Pallavas, of Vaiṣṇavism and the Pāṇḍyas, of Śaivism. It is in such an age of immunity from outside attack that people who professed the Vaidika faiths could be expected to have had leisure to examine the relative merits of their faiths and the extent of support derived by each from the Vedic texts. The enquiry into the Supreme Being launched by the Pāṇḍya is to be regarded as one such sincere attempt to ascertain the truth.

1. பாண்டியன் கொண்டாடப் பட்டர்பிரான் வந்தானென் நீண்டிய சங்க  
மெடுத்தாத (பெரியாழ்வார் தனியன்.)



In his 'History of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas,' the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies Śrī Māran Śrī Vallabhan (who lived prior to 862, the year of his son Varaguna's accession) with Neṭumāran, the Ālvār's disciple, his reason being that the Ālvār's disciple is known to the Guruparamparās as Śrī Vallabha, but is referred to by the Ālvār himself as Māran. Two points appear to have been neglected in arriving at this conclusion. Firstly, it is not known that this Śrī Māran, though undoubtedly a soldier-prince was a Vaiṣṇavaite. Secondly, the identification, if correct, will point to Śrī Vallabhan, the Ālvār's disciple, being a contemporary of Nāthamunigal. To hold that Periyālvār and Nāthamunigal lived at about the same time will be found untenable when it is pointed out that such a sharp line of demarcation between the groups of Ālvārs and Ācāryas could not have been drawn if each group was not separated from the other by a long interval of time. That this was really the truth is borne out by the Guruparamparās which say that the Ācāryas appeared after a long period of time after the Ālvārs left this mundane sphere for the celestial regions.<sup>1</sup> If as Mr. Gopinatha Rao says Ālvārs and Ācāryas lived side by side,<sup>2</sup> we may be sure that one of the Ālvārs could have easily taken precedence over Nāthamunigal as the first head of the long line of Ācāryas and that, instead of the fragmentary traditions of the lives of the Ālvārs now known, they would have handed over to posterity tolerably full and accurate details of their lives, as those of the Ācāryas now available.

Śrī Vallabhan Śrī Māran who lived in the ninth century could not be the Pāṇḍya of Periyālvār's time. The Divyasūri-caritam, the oldest extant account of the lives of the Ālvārs and the source-book on the subject composed in the 12th century by Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita, a contemporary and disciple of Rāmānuja, relates that Periyālvār with his daughter Śrī Āṇṭāl went to Tirukkurukūr (Ālvār Tirunagari) to consult Nammālvār as to his daughter's marriage, that he saw Toṇṭaraṭipotiḱal, Kulaśēkhara-pperumāl and others with him, and that, later on, the bridal procession was

1, "ஆழ்வார்கள் தன்னடிச்சோதிக்க கெழுந்தருளி நெடுங் காலமானவாதே (ஆழ்வார்கள் அவதாரம்)."

2. The Divyasūri-caritam which, Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks, supports his view that Nammālvār and Nāthamunigal were contemporaries does not warrant any such conclusion. The statement that the latter received the Tiruvāymoli from the former who was then engaged in Yoga is capable of only one interpretation. It introduces the supernatural element and indicates that to the devotee, Nāthamunigal, who repeated many times the verses beginning with 'Kanninun-Sirutthambu,' Nammālvār manifested himself, etc.

intercepted by Thirumaṅkai Mannan. This contemporaneity of the Āḷvārs mentioned in Divyasūri-caritam is borne out by other facts. Nammāḷvār celebrates a village and its shrine of which the former was granted to a Brahmin by Parāntakan-Neṭuṇ Caṭiyan in his 17th regnal year and was named Śrī-varamangalam after himself. (see the Madras Museum plates). Again, the Āḷvārs whose works were compiled and propagated by Nāthamunigal (b. 825) could not have lived long after 825.<sup>1</sup> Within such a circumscribed period of time viewed together with the custom of petty chiefs and ministers bearing as a mark of honour, the name of the reigning sovereign, it is sure to strike one that Nammāḷvār, one of whose names was Maran-Parāṅkuśan, was a contemporary of, and bore the name of, his liege-lord, Parāṅkuśan-Māravarman or Neṭumāran, the father of our "unique Vaiṣṇava" king Neṭuṇ-caṭayan. Again, Tirumaṅkai Mannan in his Paramēśvara-Viṇṇakarap-patikam describes his contemporary Pallava Mallan, as the victor of the "Pāṇḍya, Lord of the Tamil Land."<sup>2</sup> The Cinnamanūr plates, on the other hand, describe that Māravarman, conqueror of the Cola and Cera, fought with him and defeated him in many battles. Whoever the real victor was and whatever his reverses in battle might have been, we may be certain that Tirumaṅkai-Mannan was a contemporary of Māravarman. Thus of the three great Āḷvārs that the Divyasūri-caritam asserts were contemporaries, Nammāḷvār and Tirumaṅkai Mannan are clearly found to have lived in the eighth century and we can have no hesitation in saying that Periyāḷvār also lived in the same century. The Pāṇḍya whom he convinced must have been Māravarman, the father of Neṭuṇ-Catayan, the staunch Vaiṣṇavaite king.

This contemporaneity of the Āḷvārs mentioned by Divyasūri-caritam finds striking corroboration from what the Āḷvārs mention of their age. The exuberance of great Vaiṣṇava Bhaktas and sages find ecstatic expression in their verses. Thus in his *Polika-polikap-patikam* Nammāḷvār rejoices at the presence of innumerable bhaktas and sages who scoured the

1. This is the correct date of birth of Nāthamunigal according to the Guruparamparās and other ancient historical works. For the elucidation of the date the reader is referred to my book "The Lives of the Āḷvārs".

2. "உலகுடைமன்னவன் தென்னவனைக் கன்னிமாமதில்கும் கருகூர்வெரு  
வப் பலபடைசாய வென்றான்." (பெரியதிரு. 3, 9, 7).

country propagating the tenets of Vaiṣṇavism with remarkable success. 1 Kulaśekhara Ālvār speaks of devout bhaktas of Śrī Ranganātha wandering over the whole Tamil land spreading the true religion.<sup>2</sup> Periyālvār asserts that the world is full of bhaktas and ascetics.<sup>3</sup> Tirumaṅkai-Man-nan says that as one of the Bhāgavatas he wandered over the length and breadth of the Tamil Land.<sup>4</sup> He tells us further that the Pāṇḍya, Cola Cera and Pallava, kings were Vaiṣṇavaite.<sup>5</sup> Thus we see that the eighth century was so remarkable an era of Vaiṣṇavaite upheaval and missionary work throughout the length and breadth of Tamiḷakam that it may be summed up as "The Great Vaiṣṇavaite era".

### *The Age of Śrī Āṇḍāl.*

We have hitherto seen that Periyālvār should have lived in the eighth century; we shall now proceed to consider if we have any data for fixing the exact age of Śrī Āṇḍāl. Her *Tiru-p-pūvai* is a sublime lyric, in which in the character of a *Gōpi* girl longing to be united to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Āṇḍāl celebrates *Pūvai-Nōṇpu*.<sup>6</sup> This is an austere observance by young girls,

1. "கடல்வண்ணன் பூதங்கள் மண்மேல், மலியப்புருந் திசைபாடி யாடி யுழிதரக் கண்டோம்,"

"மாதவன் பூதங்கள் மண்மேற், பண்டான் பாடிநின் றாடிப் பார்து திரிகின் மனவே."

"அச்சதன்மனை ஞானவிதி பிழையாமே, மேவித்தொழும் அடியாரும் பகவரு மிக்கதுலகே" (5, 2, 1-2-9).

2. "பத்தியிலாத் பாவிக ஞாய்ந்திடத், தீதில் நன்னெறி காட்டி எங்குந்திரிந் தரங்க னெம்மானுக்கே, காதலசெய் தொண்டர்க்கு"

"எழுந்தாடிப்பாடி யாங்கன் எம்மானுக்கே, மாலையுற்றிடுந் தொண்டர்"

(பெருமான் திரு, 2—6, 8).

3. "பத்தர்களும் பகவர்களும் பழமொழிவாய் முனிவர்களும் பார்தநாடும்"

(பெரியாழ் திரு, 4, 9, 6).

4. "தேசமறிய வுமக்கே யாளாய்த் திரிகின்றோ முக்குக் காசினொளியிற் றிகழும் வண்ணந் காட்டீர்."

(பெரியாழ் திரு, 4, 9, 4).

5. "பானே ! பஞ்சவன் பூழியன் சோழன் பார்மன்னர் மன்னர் ரும்பணிந் தேத்தும்—வானே !"

(பெரியாழ் திரு, 7, 7, 4).

6. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject *vide* my essay "Tai-nirāṭal or Margali nonpu" in the *Sen-Tamil* (Vol. XX). The essay has been summarised by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in his article entitled "Two Tamil Hymns for the Margali festival" in the *Indian Antiquary* (September, 1926).

who pray to the image of *Kāṭyāyanī* set up by themselves of wet sand on the bathing ghat (to whom the closing word 'em-pavay' of every stanza of the *Tirup-pāvai* is addressed) to send timely showers and give them choice partners in life. It commences with the month of *Mārgaḷi* and terminates on the full-moon day of the same month. In the Cankam ages it was widely observed and known as *Tai-nīrūṭal*, as according to the lunar system of computation the full-moon day in *Mārgaḷi* marked the commencement of the month of *Tai*. The same ancient custom is observed even now in Malabar under the name of *Tiruvātirai* festival, and in *Tamilakam* as *Ārdrā-darśanam*.

Now the stanza.

“ புள்ளின்வாய் கீண்டாணைப் பொல்லா வரக்கனைக்  
கிள்ளிக் களைந்தானைக் கீர்த்திமை பாடிப்போய்ப்  
பிள்ளைக ளெல்லாரும் பாவைக் களம்புக்கார்  
வெள்ளி யெழுந்து வியாழ முறங்கீற்றுப்  
புள்ளுஞ் சிலம்பினகாண் போதரிக் கண்ணினும்  
ஞள்ளக் குளிரக் குடைந்துநீ ராடாதே  
பள்ளிக் கிடத்தியோ பாவாய்நீ நன்னுளால்  
கள்ளந் தவிர்ந்து கலந்தேலோ ரெம்பாவாய் ”

All the girls, singing the fame of Him

Who tore the bird's mouth, who crushed the head of, and  
destroyed the evil-doing Rākṣasa (Rāvaṇa).

Have reached the place where the images are set up.

*Venus has risen and Jupiter has gone to rest ;*

Listen how the birds sing, you whose eyes are like the Lotus  
[in the bud.

Joining us not in the cool water,

Will you still lying abed, my lady dear? on this holy day.

Have done with your tricky ways El or our Lady.<sup>1</sup> (a)

in the *Tiruppāvai* (13), appears to me to furnish astronomical data for fixing the age of Śrī Āṇḍāl and so deserves very careful consideration. The holy or auspicious day referred to in this stanza is the full-moon day as is clearly seen from the first verse<sup>1</sup> (b). That the bath was observed

1 (a) Trns. by Mr. A. Butterworth in the Ind. Ant. 1926, September.

1 (b) “மார்கழித் திங்கள் மதிநிறைந்த நன்னுளால் நீராடப் போதுவீர் போது  
மினோ நேரிழையீர்.”

very early in the morning may be seen from what Āṇḍāl herself puts into the mouth of the Gopi ladies, when they were annoyed by Kṛṣṇa climbing up the nearest tree with their sarees, while celebrating this Mārgaḷi festival. They say

“கோழி அழைப்பதன்முன்னம் குடைந்து நீராடுவான் போந்தோம்  
ஆழியஞ் செல்வனெழுந்தான்...துகிலைப் பணித்தருளாயே.”

(நாயச்சியார் திரு. 3, 1);

“We came to bathe before cock-crow ; the sun has risen ; Lord ! give us our sarees.”

Speaking of the austerities she herself observed in honour of Kāma, Āṇḍāl says,

“வெள்ளைநுண் மணற்கொண்டு தெருவணிந்து  
வெள்வரைப்பதன் முன்னம் துறைபடிந்து.”

(நாயச்சியார் திரு. 1, 2).

that she bathed before dawn, showing clearly that the custom was to celebrate this function even before day-break. In a number of stanzas of the Tiruppāvai, the indolent sleeper is sought to be impressed with the delay caused by her, by pointing out that the dawn has set in, that the cock is crowing, that the birds are warbling, that the ascetics' pious utterances are resounding—these and similar expressions show that the function was invariably observed about four and never later than five in the morning. Had it been after five, it could have been only an ordinary daily observance and not a special observance as Pāvai-nōṇpu is.

In the stanza under consideration Āṇḍāl says “Venus has risen and Jupiter has gone to rest.” It is quite common, no doubt, for the ancients to mention the position of Venus in the early morning. But the peculiarity we note here is, that Āṇḍāl does not stop with mentioning that venus has arisen but proceeds to note also the corresponding position of Jupiter—that it was setting. Viewed together with the fact that Venus does not make its appearance on the full-moon day of every Mārgaḷi before dawn, we may be certain that, if Āṇḍāl speaks not only of the appearance of Venus but also of the corresponding position of Jupiter in the heavens, she refers to an extraordinary phenomenon specially noted by her when she rose up very early in the morning and observed the heavens to find out the time. Neither can the correctness of the observation be impeached when her extensive scholarship and the extreme realistic nature of her poetry is borne in mind.



Like the similar expression “கோழி கூவிப் பொழுது விடிந்தது”, which does not mean that the crowing of the cock was the cause or the effect of the dawning, but means only that the dawning and crowing were simultaneous, the expression “வெள்ளியெழுந்து வியாழமுறங்கிற்று” means that the rising of Venus and setting of Jupiter were simultaneous. In other words, while Venus was in the eastern horizon, Jupiter was in the western horizon at about  $180^\circ$  from it. Allowing a small margin we may be certain that the two planets could not have been separated from each other by less than  $165^\circ$  or more than  $185^\circ$ ; for otherwise the rising of the one and the setting of the other will not be simultaneous and Āndāl's observation will lose all its force. I requested some of my friends\* specially skilled in astronomical calculations to find out for me the exact dates in the 8th century, which we proved to be the age of Periyālvār, as also the centuries preceding and succeeding it in which on the full-moon day of the month of *Mārgaḷi*, not much earlier than four and later than five in the morning, Venus was rising and Jupiter was setting and were divided by an angle of  $165^\circ$ - $185^\circ$ . The results of their calculation with the Ephemeris are given below.

Century.	Year.	Month and Date.	Distance between Venus and Jupiter.	Time.
7	600	27th November.	$171^\circ$	3-20 A. M.
8	731	18th December.	$177^\circ$	3-50 A. M.
9	{ 885 } { 886 }	14th December.	$165^\circ$	5-20 A. M.

The result shows that 18th December 731 is the only day in the eighth century (which ample reasons induce us to believe was the age of Periyālvār), that satisfies the requirements of our astronomical data. Repetitions of the same phenomenon have occurred one hundred and thirty years earlier, in 600 A. D. and one hundred and fifty-four years later, in 885-886 A. D. To take 600 A. D. as the age of Śrī Āndāl will be tantamount to making her a

\* My thanks are due to my nephew Mr. T. S. Saumyanarayana Aiyangar, B.A., Pleader, Ramnad, for formulating the necessary data and calculating these dates. Dr. Vaidyanadaswami, M.A., Ph. D. and Messrs. K. G. Sesha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., K. G. Sankara Aiyar, B.A., B.L., and Somasundara Desikar have kindly responded to my request to calculate and verify the results. Save some minor details, the results arrived at by Messrs. Sesha Aiyar and Sankara Aiyar agree with those given above.



contemporary of Thirumālīcai Ālvār, at a time when there were no such Vaiṣṇavaite Paṇḍyas as her father Periyālvār mentions. 885-886 will be equally unsuitable as it will make Āṇḍāl a contemporary of Nāthamunigal. On the full-moon day of 731 A. D. we find that at 3-50 A. M. Venus and Jupiter were at the opposite ends of the horizon at  $177^\circ$  from each other. The time is further appropriate in that maidens looking forward eagerly for the observance should wake up a little before four and bathe before there was any other stir in the world. Notice may be drawn in this connection to the custom in Malabar for girls to bathe, even at present, before 4 A. M. on the Tiruvātirai festival day (which is a relic of the ancient Mārgaḷi festival). Hence we may not be mistaken in saying that the early morning of the full-moon day of 731 A. D. was the auspicious time when Āṇḍāl gave expression to her grand lyric, the *Tiruppāvai*.

Some of the later Guruparamparās give out that Āṇḍāl was born in the Tamil year Naḷa in the month of Āṭi and give some more Pañcāṅgam details. From these, the late Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Samikannu Pillai fixed the date of birth of Āṇḍāl as June 25th 776 A. D. The Divyasūricaritam and Pinpaḷakiya Jiyar's Guruparamparai give no such date, but mention only the month and nakṣatra of the birth and so all calculation based upon such a slender basis is bound to be futile.<sup>1</sup> However, we may point out that if we take the date of birth of Āṇḍāl as the year Naḷa, in the cycle preceding that fixed by Mr. Samikannu Pillai (776) we are led to the curious result that born in 716, when she composed the *Tiruppāvai* in 731 according to our astronomical result she was 15 years old, even the tender blossoming beauty she represents herself to be in her *Tirumōḷi*.

“அவரைப்பிராயந் தொடங்கி யென்றும்  
ஆதரித் தெழுந்தவென் தடமுலைகள்  
துவரைப் பிரானுக்கே சங்கற்பித்துத்  
தொழுதுவந்தே ஞெல்லை விதிக்கற்றியே.”  
“ஊனுடை யாழிசங் குத்தமர்க்கென்  
றுன்னித் தெழுந்தவென் தடமுலைகள்  
மானிடவர்க் கென்று பேச்சப்பபுல்  
வாழுகில்லென் கண்டாய் மன்மதனே.”

1. It may be noted that the only astronomical data given in regard to the Śaivaite Nāyanmārs are the months and nakṣatras. No other detail is known.

I shall feel highly thankful if both the western and eastern scholars are kind enough offer their criticisms on this article.

## THE DATE OF THE TIRUPPĀVAI.

By

K. G. SANKAR, B.A., B.L.,

*Assistant, Imperial Library, Calcutta.*

The *Tiruppāvai* is a well-known Vaiṣṇava hymn in Tamil, composed by Kotai, the girl-saint of South India, also known as Āṇḍāl. She was the daughter of the Vaiṣṇava poet-saint Bhaṭṭanātha, otherwise known as Periyālvār. While yet she was a child, she used, unknown to her father, to wear herself in play the flowers gathered for the worship of Viṣṇu. Her father found her out one day and scolded her for the offence. But the God refused to accept the flowers, unless, as usual, she wore it first. Hence forward she came to be known as *Cūṭi-koṭutta-nāyciyār* (the maid who wore herself and gave). When she attained marriageable age, she refused to wed any human bridegroom, but would fain marry the God Himself. The perplexed father had a dream, wherein the God appeared before him and bade him take her, adorned like a bride, to His shrine in Śrīrangam. He did so, and the maid was absorbed into the images and from that time she is being worshipped as the bride of God. The *Tirupṭpāvai* is her best known hymn, and is enshrined in the *Nālāyira-divya-prabandham*, the holy book of South Indian Vaiṣṇavas. It is a song meant for the Mārkaḷi (December-January) festival, to be sung by girls calling on each other to wake up for their early bath and worship. The object of this paper is to determine its date as closely as the available materials permit us to do.

Fortunately, Śrī Kotai herself has afforded us astronomical data, which are of great help in determining the date of the *Tirupṭpāvai*. Mr. M. Rāghava Aiyangār, a well-known Tamil scholar, kindly pointed out to me that it refers (stanzas 1 and 13) to the simultaneous rising of Venus and setting of Jupiter before day-break on the full-moon day of Mārkaḷi, and requested me to calculate and find out all the dates which satisfy these data in the period 600 to 900 A. D., admitted on all hands to cover the limits of all probable dates for the spiritual activities of the South Indian Vaisnava saints known as the 12 Ālvārs, including Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai. It is not always usual for Venus to rise on the full-moon day of Mārkaḷi. Neither

was it necessary to mention the setting of Jupiter. We must therefore infer that these phenomena were mentioned, only because Śrī Kotai had happened to see them herself, when she composed the hymn, and that these data give us an indication as to the time of its composition.

Now Jupiter would have set at the same time that Venus rose, only if they were  $165^{\circ}$  to  $180^{\circ}$  apart; and they could have been seen before day-break, only if the geo-centric longitude of Venus had been less than that of the sun. The longitude of the sun would be between  $240^{\circ}$  and  $270^{\circ}$  in the month of Mārkaḷi, and Venus could never be more than  $48^{\circ}$  from the sun. So the longitude of Venus should have been between  $192^{\circ}$  and  $270^{\circ}$ , and that of Jupiter between  $12^{\circ}$  and  $105^{\circ}$ . The astronomical data available to us are therefore the following:—(1) Mārkaḷi full-moon; (2) Sun  $240^{\circ}$  to  $270^{\circ}$ ; (3) Venus  $192^{\circ}$  to  $270^{\circ}$ ; (4) Jupiter  $12^{\circ}$  to  $105^{\circ}$ .

Between 600 and 900 A. C., the following are the only dates which satisfy these data:—

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| (1) 26th Nov. 600 A.C. | —Jupiter $29^{\circ}$ ; Venus $200^{\circ}$ ; Sun $246^{\circ}$ ; |
| (2) 1st Dec. 624 A.C.  | „ $39^{\circ}$ „ $204^{\circ}$ „ $251^{\circ}$ ;                  |
| (3) 5th Dec. 648 A.C.  | „ $37^{\circ}$ „ $208^{\circ}$ „ $255^{\circ}$ ;                  |
| (4) 18th Dec. 731 A.C. | „ $47^{\circ}$ „ $223^{\circ}$ „ $266^{\circ}$ ;                  |
| (5) 23rd Nov. 850 A.C. | „ $65^{\circ}$ „ $235^{\circ}$ „ $240^{\circ}$ ;                  |
| (6) 27th Nov. 874 A.C. | „ $74^{\circ}$ „ $243^{\circ}$ „ $245^{\circ}$ ;                  |

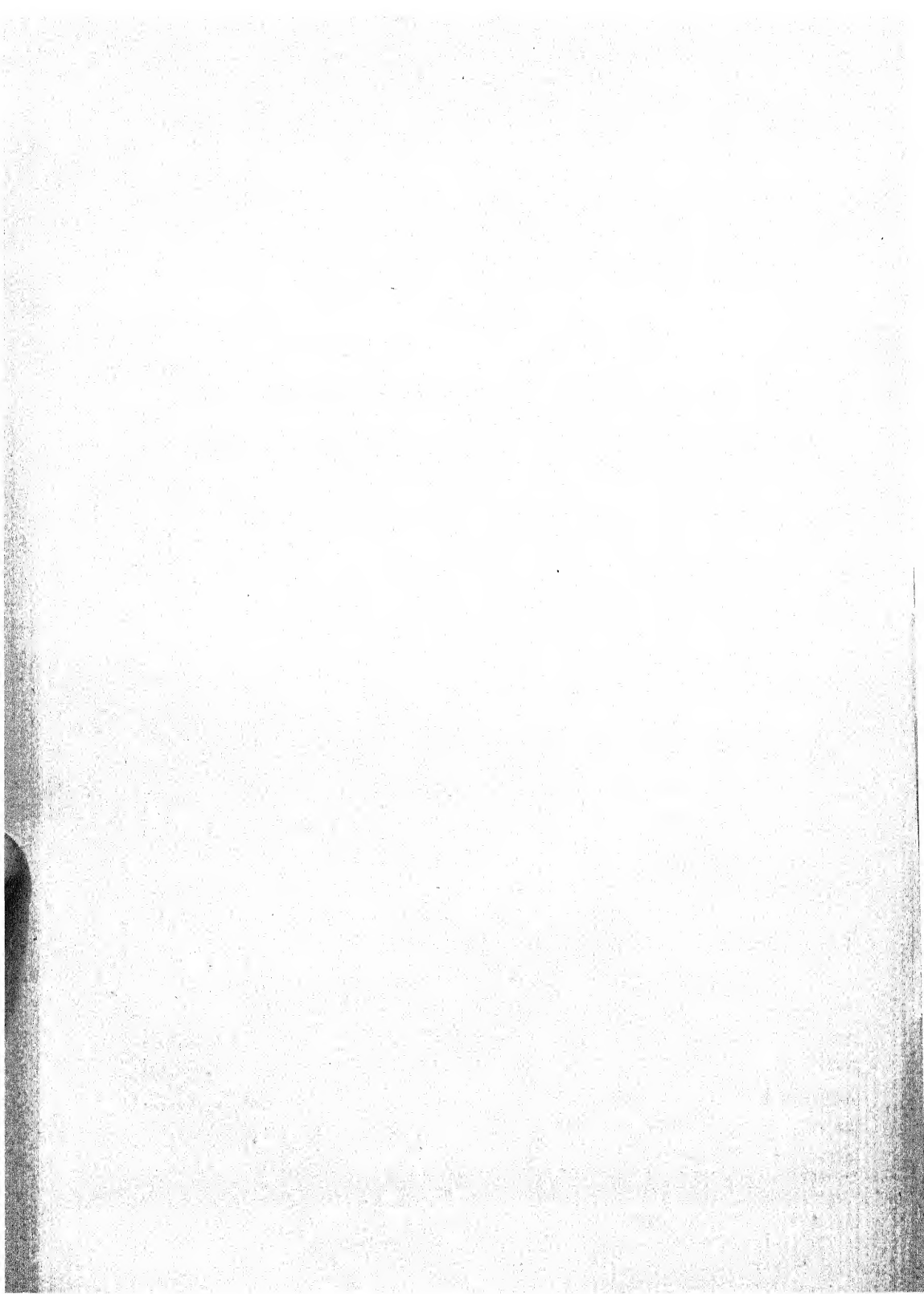
Mr. Rāghava Ayyangār, relying on some of his friends, suggests two other dates (1) 25th November 885 A. C.; and (2) 14th December 886 A. C. But on those dates the longitudes of Jupiter were respectively  $41^{\circ}$  and  $78^{\circ}$ , and those of Venus  $223^{\circ}$  and  $240^{\circ}$ . The intervals, therefore, between Jupiter and Venus were respectively  $182^{\circ}$  and  $162^{\circ}$ , and not, as they should be, between  $165^{\circ}$  and  $180^{\circ}$ . We may, therefore, reject these dates as unsuitable.

To choose among the 6 dates given above, we have to fall back on the other evidence available to us. The traditional biographies, no doubt, of Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai give elaborate astronomical details of their dates of birth. But these are found only in later works, while the two earliest of the biographies, the *Divyasūri-caritam* of Garuḍavāhana Paṇḍita (12th century A. C.), a contemporary of Śrī Rāmānuja (died c. 1150 A. C.), and the *Guru-paramparā-prabhāvam* of Pinbalakiya-Perumāḷ-Jīyar (13th century A. C.) give only the month and *nakṣatra* in which the saints were born. The astronomical data, therefore, of the traditional biographies do not help us to determine the dates of Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai. But other evidence is not wanting. The Anbil plates of Coḷa Parāntaka II (953-970

A. C.) were composed by a pupil of Śrī Nātha, *i. e.*, Nāthamuni, the earliest of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas, who came after all the 12 Ālvārs. Nāthamuni must therefore have lived before c. 950 A. c. and we may safely accept the traditional date of his death, 922 A. C., as correct. This gives us c. 900 A. C. as the latest date for Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kodai.

Among the Ālvārs, Nammālvār was undoubtedly the greatest; and, according to our earliest extant authority, the *Rāmānuja-nūrrantūti*, which praises all the 12 Ālvārs in separate stanzas, and which was composed by Rāmānuja's contemporary and disciple, Amudanār of Śrīrangam, Nammālvār was also the latest of the Ālvārs. The priority, at any rate, of Bhaṭṭanātha to Nammālvār is confirmed by Yāmuna (known also as Ālavandār—11th century A. C.), who sees a reference to Bhaṭṭanātha, among others, in Nammālvār's *Tiru-vāy-mōli* (*vide* his commentary on 1-5-11). Now Nammālvār cannot be later than 883 A. C., as in that year Śaṭhakopa, a title applied to him for the first time for a specific reason, came to be used as the personal name of an ordinary person mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkannapuram in the Tanjore district. Bhaṭṭanātha and Śrī Kotai must therefore have lived not later than 880 A. C.

We can fix their period more closely still. The traditional biography of Bhaṭṭanātha mentions a Pāṇḍya Śrī Vallabha as his contemporary and disciple. Bhaṭṭanātha himself mentions Netumāran as his Pāṇḍya contemporary (4-2-7). So this Neṭumāran or Māran (Neṭu is only an epithet meaning *great*) must be identical with Śrī Vallabha. The only Pāṇḍya before c. 900 A. C., who is known to have been called both Māran and Śrī Vallabha was, according to the bigger Cinnamanūr plates (*Cen Tamil*, Vol. 23, pp. 219-224; 257-262), the son of Varaguṇa I. and the father of Varaguṇa II. This king was a successor of Jaṭila Parāntaka, who, according to the Ānaimalai inscription (*Epi. Ind.* Vol. 8, No. 33), was ruling in 770 A. C.; and the 8th year of Varaguṇa II. fell in Śaka 792=870 A. C. (Madras inscriptions, No. 705 of 1915). The entire reign of Śrī Vallabha therefore fell between 770 and 862 A. C., and the *Tiruppāvai*, therefore, composed by his *guru's* daughter must be assigned to this period. Within this period, the only date which satisfies the given astronomical data is 23rd November, 850 A. C. we may therefore safely conclude that the *Tiruppāvai* was composed *exactly* in the year 850 A. C.





## THE MYSTIC WAY OF THE GĪTĀ.\*

BY

D. S. SARMA, M.A.,

*Professor, English Department, Presidency College, Madras.*

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(Concluded from the last issue.)

According to the Gīta, it seems to me, the entire way lies between two types of character—a 'Sakta' and a 'Yukta'. The whole discipline recommended by the author consists in converting a 'Sakta' into a 'Yukta'. A 'Sakta' is one who is thoroughly attached to the world and whose actions are always actuated by self-love. In him the divine spark is controlled by the senses, the mind and the understanding. He is a creature of time and circumstance. He is ever victimised by the fleeting pleasures and pains of external things. He has no permanent principle which he has fetched from beyond time to be set in opposition against the passing shows of time. In this ocean of becoming which we call existence, he has no foothold and therefore he ever drifts on the flood. He does not look before and after. He takes his power and his possessions in the world very seriously as though they would last for ever. He thoroughly identifies himself with the human relationships of his home, kindred and country, as though they were eternal. In a word, he is under the delusion that the purpose of his life lies in something outside himself. A 'Sakta' is thus an average man of the world actuated by self-love and working with a self-will and coming into conflict with other individuals who have similar aims and motives of their own. Arjuna is taken as a typical 'Sakta' in the beginning of the Gītā. He represents the material that comes to the hand of every religious teacher to start with. It may be that an average 'Sakta' is not guilty of any positive acts of sin. But, as a Christian mystic says, "Sin is not so much an action as a manner of existence. It is not necessary to go to the expense of an action in order to sin. The habitual state of most minds even in their most quiet form is sin." Self-love or *Kāma* seeking to realise itself through self-will or *samkalpa* is, even in its passive state before it is translated into action, is a mark of *Avidyā*. *Kāma* is the great enemy of the soul who is

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\* A paper read before the Sanskrit Association of the Presidency College.



in possession of the mind of the natural man. The *Gītā* says : " True knowledge is enveloped, O Arjuna, by this constant enemy of the wise—an insatiable flame in the form of *Kāma*. The senses, the mind and the understanding are said to be its seat. Through these it veils one's knowledge and deludes the soul." As long as the enemy is in possession of our minds we need not count the particular acts of sin we commit. Our whole existence is sin. We live as outlaws from the kingdom of the spirit. There is no hell but sin. The downward steps in the descent into hell are only grades of self-centred life. We begin the descent apologetically with the plea of self-preservation. For most of our shady actions could be defended on the colourable pretext of self-preservation. We clothe Evil in this respectable dress and hug him to our bosoms. Soon our friend will take us down another step. Here too the way is a slope and not a stair-case. We do not know when exactly we have descended from acts of self-preservation to those of self-appropriation, when exactly we have passed on from the region of '*Kāma*' to the region of '*Lobha*'. Soon the darkness thickens around us. Evil grows by what it feeds on. Reason is subjugated by appetites. And when selfish desire is thwarted, when it is balked of its ends, it awakes the brute in us. Our wrath is roused. And with it the evil passions. We go deeper into hell before we are aware of it, and reach the region of '*Krodha*,' where lurk the great crimes against humanity—treachery, treason and murder. Dante in his famous poem gives a harrowing description of this progressive descent into the Inferno and points out the vices of the various stages of degradation. It is not a pleasant subject though mediæval imagination revels in the gruesome horrors of it. The author of the *Gītā* has briefly touched on it in his description of '*Āsura*' natures in his 16th Chapter. He points out how the soul of the sinner who has, through ignorance or pride, placed himself against the laws of his own being, travels far from God and passes through the three gates of hell—*Kāma*, *Lobha* and *Krodha*—to its own ruin.

But it is more pleasant to turn our attention from the downward path to the upward path and mark the stages of progress there. The first impulse of the soul that has been awakened to the evil of the world, where blind forces of self-will are in perpetual conflict, is to flee from it altogether. The feeling that comes over the awakened man at the starting point of his journey is not unlike the feeling of Arjuna when he threw away his *Gāṇḍīva* and told his friend he would not fight. But alas, that way lies no salvation. The idleness of the coward is no substitute for the peace of the saint. We

gain nothing by running away from evil and hiding our heads. The procedure is more foolish than that of the ostrich. For our enemy does not lie outside ourselves. He lies entrenched in our own hearts. We carry him with us when we flee to the jungle from the world. The Gītā is very emphatic on this point :—

न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते ।

न च सन्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ॥

“No man can ever cease to act by merely ceasing to work; and no man can ever reach perfection through mere renunciation.”

Renunciation of mere external activities is not the way to salvation, any more than suicide is the way to freedom. What then is the way? We have already seen that the downward way consists in self-aggrandisement, in strengthening our self-love and self-will. Clearly, therefore, the upward way consists in the progressive weakening of the self and substituting the love of God and the will of God for self-love and self-will. The will of God is no alien, external thing. If it were, we should require a Saviour or a Mediator. But the will of God is ever present in us in the form of conscience. The creator is ever present in the creature. The extent to which we develop the creator in us depends upon the extent to which we can drive out the creature in us. Appetites, desires, and passions belong to the creature in us. Therefore the mystic discipline, in the early stages of ascent, lies in turning away from evil and getting our creaturely propensities under control. To turn away from evil-doing is of course the first step.

“न मां दुष्कृतिनो मूढाः प्रपद्यन्ते नराधमाः”

“The vile and the deluded evil-doers can never come to me.”

But evil-doing is only one of the creaturely propensities though the most dangerous of them all. There are others—for instance, the various appetites of the flesh—in which a man is allowed to indulge within the limits of social law and which are not generally accounted as sin. But for purposes of spiritual ascent these also have to be conquered. The Gītā frequently mentions both the aspects of discipline. The striving Yogin should be not only a विशुद्धात्मा (a pure soul) but also a विजितात्मा (one who has conquered the flesh). He should be above the sins of the Sadducees and above the sins of the Pharisees. After thus purifying himself and conquering himself he proceeds to the subjugation of his will to the will of God. For unless he surrenders his will to what he conceives to be the will of God he cannot progress further. The Gītā says :—

### न ह्यसन्न्यस्तसंकल्पो योगी भवति कश्चन ॥

"A man who has not surrendered his self-will can never become a Yogin,"

But how to surrender it? The author suggests that one might begin by looking for the reward of one's actions not in the external world but in one's own soul. All outward events are only the scaffolding for the inward spiritual edifice. They have no value in themselves except as opportunities for testing the soul and speeding it on its way. As Browning says in his *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, this dance of plastic circumstance, this Present is only "machinery just meant to give thy soul its bent, to try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed." The author of the *Gītā* wants the Yogin to see that the real fruit of action is within himself. Every righteous deed, every good impulse, every generous thought bears its own immediate fruit in the soul and makes it less of a creature and more of the creator. Life is a valley of soul-making and not of money-making or of pleasure-seeking. On this view we are the masters of our destinies, and there is no such thing as failure in life. The reward of a righteous deed is immediate and unfailing, for it consists in the exaltation of the soul and in its strength to do another righteous deed. As Marcus Aurelius says the vine that has produced grapes asks for no reward but when the season comes round it produces another crop. The Yogin who thus goes forward fearlessly acting according to his conscience and never minding the success or failure of his actions in the external world gains a foothold in the spiritual world, which lies behind this changeful world of circumstance. While still living in time, he gains the view-point of the world beyond time. The *Gītā* says:—

इहैव तैर्जितस्सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ॥

"Those whose minds have gained equanimity of spirit have conquered their mortality even here."

Then comes the second stage of the journey. When a man is struggling upward on the moral path, anxious to do what is right under all circumstances and eager to get away from his prison of flesh comes a flash of light one day or another. Then the clouds of ignorance are sent asunder. The way then becomes much more clear and the rate of progress much more rapid. *Kṛṣṇa* says in the *Gītā*:—

तेषामेवानुकर्णार्थमहमज्ञानजं तमः ।

नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ॥

"Out of compassion for them do I enter their souls and destroy the darkness of ignorance by the shining lamp of wisdom."

In other words the man's *jñāna-cakṣus* or the spiritual eye with which he perceives God is now opened. His self is still a separate entity. But its worldly concerns, its earthly relations have all sunk to a miserably small speck. In his luminous moments the mystic feels that he has drifted away from the world of men on an indescribable ocean of being. He hears from a great distance on the level sea the murmur of the world on the fading coast. His joy now consists only in the contemplation of the One whose face has been revealed to him. “तद्ब्रह्मसदात्मानस्तन्निष्ठास्तत्परायणाः” Such is the description of this state by the author of the Gītā. Similarly a Christian mystic says that in his period of illumination he lived as though none existed in the world except himself and God. The joy of communion with Him is so great and the moments of such communion are so rare that all the efforts of the mystic are henceforth directed towards maintaining the contact. It is at this point that he resorts to spiritual exercises to help him to direct his heart and mind steadily towards the Light. Different schools have different systems of discipline here. Some systems are purely intellectual like those of the neo-platonic school; some purely moral like those of the Christian school and some are both intellectual and moral like those of the Buddhist school. And each school has its own technical language for describing the states of mind, beginning with simple thought—control and ending with *samādhi* or spiritual union. Christian mystics call the steps “the degrees of orison”. We call them “*Yogāṅgas*”. These are minutely analysed and commented on in later Yogic literature. But in the Gītā they occur in living relation with the progress of the soul, and not as in a technical, diagrammatic chart. And there is a wonderful passage in the sixth chapter in which the ineffable joy of the one-pointed mind in its contact with God is described (VI. 20-23).

“That in which the mind is at rest, restrained by the practice of concentration; that in which the soul beholds the spirit, and rejoices in the spirit; that in which the soul knows the boundless joy beyond the reach of the senses and grasped only by the understanding; that in which, being well established, it never wavers from truth; that on gaining which the soul feels there could be no greater gain; and that from which it cannot be moved even by the heaviest affliction—that is to be known as Yoga.”

A man who has this experience begins to see the unity of all things in God. He sees Him everywhere—in the sapidity of the waters, in the radiance of the sun and the moon, in the pure fragrance of the earth and in the life of all beings. When once this vision is gained, the Yogin lives in



constant fellowship with God. He becomes attached to Him. Love of God takes the place of the earthly ties he has renounced. But this relation is not one of idle sentiment. The author of the *Gītā* nowhere encourages the mere ecstatic feeling of the later Bhakti schools. His conception of fellowship with God involves incessant work as well as a joyous mood. To be drawn towards God is to imitate Him and to work as He works. For does not God work incessantly? Does not the whole creation move on from day to day in an easy, effortless and almost laughing mood? Does not Nature produce more and more complex and beautiful forms of life never pausing, never resting? Has God any object to gain by the working of all this machinery? Has He anything to achieve which He has not yet achieved? And does this work of His as *Īśwara*, the Lord of Creation, in any way interfere with His profound peace and eternal rest as Brahman? These are the questions suggested by the author of the *Gītā* to the Yogin whose heart is filled with the love of God. He emphatically says that to love God is to do His work and not to sit still and hymn His praises. In fact the man who has renounced his earthly attachments has to work as hard and as enthusiastically as the man who is still in bondage.

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।

कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथाऽसक्ताश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥

“As an ignorant man acts from attachment to action so should a wise man act without attachment for the good of the world.”

His is a labour of love—not of self-love but of divine love. A mystic becomes a man of action because of his mysticism. In the last stage of his career he identifies himself with God. He has been purified, he has been illumined, he is now united. He feels that there is no distinction between the Father and the Son. He who has seen the Son has seen the Father, said Christ. And a similar saying is attributed to Mohammad by the Sufis. But the Father is both the One and the Many. He is the One in the many. He is Brahman as well as *Īśwara* and the world. Therefore the mystic's identification should extend to both these aspects of God. The author of the *Gītā* accordingly pleads that the ideal Yogin should see profound rest in incessant action and incessant action in profound rest. When the Yogin is able to reconcile these two in his own being, when his heart rests in God while his hands work in society he becomes God-like. He becomes a 'Yukta'. The 'Sakta' has at last been changed into a 'Yukta'. The journey is complete. The pilgrim has reached the goal.

A mystic who has reached his goal is nothing short of a creator. He possesses marvellous power over the souls of men. By his touch the most illiterate and the most sinful are in a moment roused from torpor and error. Witness the power which all founders of religions wielded over the minds of their early disciples. Out of common clay they fashioned fiery souls whose zeal has changed the face of the Earth. It is only the minor mystics who are stuck up somewhere on the mystic way that are lost to us. Those who go the full way return to the world with glad tidings. Their advent marks a new era. Their utterances constitute a new scripture.

The author of the Gītā is one of such mystics. The form that he chose for delivering his message perhaps prevented him from fully revealing his personality to us. He wrote no book of confessions, no spiritual autobiography. He chose the dialogue form and made an Avatār the mouth-piece of his teaching. He could not therefore depart widely from the mystic traditions of his people. He had probably seen in Buddhism the evil of a teacher cutting himself off from the old moorings entirely. He was therefore anxious to figure as a mystic of the Church. He tells us that his message is not a new one. He claims that the Yoga he teaches has a long line of teachers behind. No wonder therefore that his influence has been permanent in this land. No wonder that the mystic way he trod is trodden still by countless pilgrims in the quiet places of the Spirit.





## A NOTE ON ĀCĀRYA SUNDARA PĀṆDYA.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, AVL., M.A.,

*Sri Minakshi College, Chidambaram.*

Being engaged at this moment in a rather close study of Pāṇḍya history, I feel a special interest in the learned paper of Professor S. Kuppaswami Śastriar on Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya. A careful reader will surely notice that the Professor does not, luckily as it seems to me, shun "the perilous path of speculation" as he proposes to do at page 10. The most valuable result of the paper is that one step has been taken, and that a long one in the identification of the old teacher quoted by the illustrious Śāṅkara at the end of his commentary on I. 1-4 of the Vedānta Sūtras. And of all the possibilities suggested by the professor, the most plausible seems to be the third and the last he has suggested at page 15.

In any case, his remark at page 12 that "in the Sanskrit portion of the bigger Cinnamannūr\* inscription, we find Arikesarin Sundara Pāṇḍya\* referred to as a king who was learned in all the Śāstras" does not seem to be borne out by the record. From the references he gives, I find that the Professor has relied on the late Mr. Venkayya's summary of the record. This is what Mr. Venkayya says :—"Then came Sundara Pāṇḍya, who was learned in all the Śāstras. Numberless kings and emperors who performed the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices had passed away. In their family sprang Arikesarin." This is, as the sequel will show, a correct summary; but here it is not Arikesari\* but a remote predecessor of his that is said to be versed in all the Śāstras. But Mr. Venkayya himself, rather strangely, does seem to have advanced the other view when he said in a later paragraph : "Sundara Pāṇḍya mentioned in the Sanskrit portion as having been learned in the Śāstras is altogether omitted in the Tamil portion. Perhaps this was the Pāṇḍya King, who was originally a Jaina but was converted to the Śaiva creed by the devotee Tirujñānasambandhar". It is thus clear that the identification of Arikesari, the contemporary of Sambandha with the Sundara versed in all the Śāstras rests upon a conjecture,\* perhaps of Mr. Venkayya. I shall now

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\* *N. B.*—In Mr. Venkayya's summary of the bigger Cinnamannur inscription and in Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri's remarks based thereon, the Sundara Pāṇḍya referred to in line 2 of the Sanskrit verses quoted above is identified as Arikēsari = Asamasama = Maravarma and should not be confounded with the Arikesari referred to in line 5 of these Sanskrit verses, the latter Arikēsarin being identical with Jaṭila's (769—70 circa) father and otherwise known as Arikēsarin = Parāṅkuśamaravarman = Termāra. S. K. Sastri.

transcribe the relevant part of the text of the plates and let Professor Sastri judge if I am not right in my view that this text supports his third possibility more than anything else.

चकर्ति कश्चिन्निजमुत्तमांगं गुरुन्निजं पालयितुं यदुद्भूः

समस्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारो यदुद्भवस्सुन्दरपाण्ड्यनामा ॥ ८ ॥

यत्रोत्पन्ना राजसूयाश्चमेधैरिष्ट्वानेकैर्देवभूयं प्रपन्नाः ।

संख्यातीतास्सार्वभौमा नरेन्द्राः कस्तान्मर्त्यः कृत्स्नशो वक्तुमीष्टे ॥ ९ ॥

तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्वशे वशी श्रीनिधि-

स्तत्पुत्रो जटिलः सुतोस्य नृपतिः श्रीराजसिंहः कृती ॥

Two results follow if the point I am making is accepted as established.

- (1) The third possibility suggested by the Professor is confirmed epigraphically ; (2) The Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya quoted by Śāṅkara must be a very old author, far]anterior to Arikesari, perhaps several centuries before his time, which was the middle of the 7th Century A. D. or thereabout.

## A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE UNĀDI SŪTRAS.

By

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A..

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

In addition to what has already been stated by Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam in Part I of this Journal (pages 53-66) the following reference may also be considered. Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, a comparatively recent writer, belonging to the 18th century, in his commentary on the Unādi Sūtras, a manuscript copy of which is deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (No. 23-3-45), discusses the question of their authorship and observes as follows :—

अथ कृवापाजीत्यादीन्युणादिसूत्राणि मूले ऋद्धमनोरमायां च स्फुटं व्याख्यातानि ।  
अथापि अस्माभिरपि अनतिविस्तरेण व्याख्यातानि । तानिचेमानि सूत्राणि शाकटायनमुनि-  
प्रणीतानि, न तु पाणिना प्रणीतानीति उणादयो बहुलमिति सूत्रे “नाम च धातुजमाह  
निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोक”मिति वार्तिकव्याख्यानावसरेऽभिहितम् । उणादीनां  
शास्त्रान्तरपरिपठितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थं बहुलग्रहणमिति कैयटः । न ह्येषां पाणिनीयत्वे  
शास्त्रान्तरशब्दो युज्यते । उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दाः पाणिनिमतेऽव्युत्पन्ना एव । अत एव  
‘युवोरनाका’विति सूत्रे ‘प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धं उणादयो ह्यव्युत्पन्नानि  
प्रातिपदिकानी’ति भाष्ये उक्तम् । अत एव च ‘आदेशप्रत्ययो’रिति सूत्रभाष्ये ‘उणादयो  
ह्यव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि’ इत्युक्त्वा तर्हि सर्पिषा यजुषेत्यादौ अप्रत्ययत्वादिदुपपत्त्यस्य  
चाप्रत्ययस्ये’ति षत्वमाशङ्क्य बहुलग्रहणात् प्रत्ययसंज्ञामवलम्ब्य षत्वाभावः साधितः ।  
व्युत्पत्तिपक्षश्च निराकृतः । अतोऽप्युणादिसूत्राणां न पाणिनीयत्वम् । अत एव ‘अजेर्व्य-  
धजपोः’ इति सूत्रभाष्ये अजधातोर्युप्रत्यये प्रकृतेर्वीभावे वायु शब्दो व्युत्पादितः । उणादि-  
सूत्राणां पाणिनीयत्वे हि कृवापाजीत्युणादिसूत्रेणोक्तप्रत्ययमाश्रित्यैव व्युत्पाद्येत । एवं च  
क्वचिद्भाष्ये उणादीनां व्युत्पन्नत्वाश्रयणं शास्त्रान्तरमूलकमेवेति लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरे प्रपञ्चितम् ।  
तथा च क्विच्चीत्युणादिसूत्राणां तथाविधवार्तिकानां च न पौनरुक्त्याशङ्का ॥.....

.....कृवापाजील्युणादिसूत्राणि तु शाकटायन-  
प्रणीतानि अस्यैव बहुलप्रहणस्य प्रपञ्च इत्यर्थः ॥

Bālamānoramā Uṇādi portion.  
Madras Manuscript (Pages 589-590).

The above extract is significant enough. In Vāsudeva Dikṣita's opinion, Pāṇini could not have been the author of the Uṇādi Sūtras. He also records the tradition that Śakṭāyana is the author of that group of Sūtras.

## A NOTE ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKAṆṬHA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.,

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

Since writing my paper on the date of Śrīkaṇṭha [*vide* pages 67-76 of Part 1, Vol. I of the Journal of Oriental Research] I came across two bits of information which throw much light on the vexed question of the date of Śrīkaṇṭha. Appayya Dīkṣita, in his *Śivārkaṇi-dīpikā* clearly states in one place that Śrīkaṇṭha should have had access to the *Prapañca-sarā* which is attributed to Śaṅkara. In commenting upon the passage,

तस्मिन्नेवं प्रणववाच्यत्वप्रसिद्धेश्च । Ś. K. Bhāṣya.

Appayya Dīkṣita says—

प्रणववाच्यत्वप्रसिद्धेरिति-प्रपञ्चसारादिष्विति शेषः ॥

Śivārkaṇi Dīpikā p. 427, Vol. I.

Appayya Dīkṣita is clear in his statement. He believes that Śrīkaṇṭha should have had access to the *Prapañca-sāra*.<sup>1</sup>

Tradition has it that Haradattācārya, a Śaivite teacher, whoever he might be, is the student of Śrīkaṇṭhācārya. Appayya Dīkṣita again shows himself to be of the contrary opinion. In his *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya*, a manuscript of which is deposited in the Adyar Manuscripts Library, we find the following extract :

सुदर्शनाचार्यैरपि तात्पर्यसङ्गहे गरुडैक्यभावनादृष्टान्त एवोपात्तः ।

ब्रह्मोच्यते परमसौ परमं च तत्त्वं

ज्योतिः परं च परमेश्वरपद्मनाभः ।

त्वद्भावनैकरसिकस्त्वदनन्यभावात्

मन्त्री यथा गरुडभावनया गरुत्मान् ॥ इति ॥

तदनुवर्तिनां श्रीकण्ठाचार्याणामपि तथैव मतमित्यलम् ॥

Śivādvaita Nirṇaya, Manuscript p. 46

1. I am indebted to my friend Mr. R. Krishnawami Sastrigal B.A. for this information.



Haradattācārya is otherwise known as Sudarśanācārya, and the verse quoted above occurs in page 11 of Mallikārjuna Śāstrin's edition of the *Tātparya-Saṅgraha*, issued from Sholapur. Would it not follow from this that Śrīkaṇṭha could not be earlier than Haradatta but only later?

These two taken together confirm the fact that Śrīkaṇṭha should be considered to be much later than Śaṅkara.

A NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED  
VĀKYA PADĪYA TĪKĀ  
DEPOSITED IN THE GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS  
LIBRARY, MADRAS.

(No. I—33—29).

BY K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A. (HONS.)

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

The work opens with three introductory verses from which we are able to gather that the author is one Vṛṣabha Deva and that it is a commentary on the Vākya Padiya of the famous Grammarian Bhartṛhari. There is also a passing reference to previous commentaries on the Vākya Padiya, but their authors are not referred to by name. The Tīkā, we shall call the manuscript by that name, extends up to eighty ślokas of the first Kāṇḍa of the Vākya Padiya where it stops abruptly. A comparison with the existing commentary (printed in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series in two volumes) seems at first to lead to the impression that the Tīkā should have the printed commentary for its original; for many of the phrases in the printed commentary ascribed to the authorship of Puṇyārāja are found to be commented upon and explained by Vṛṣabha Deva. Here are pointed out some of the striking similarities :—

Manuscript.	Printed Text.
P. 4, line 12. समाविष्टमिति	P. 1, line 2. समाविष्टम्
P. 5, „ 7. विद्याविद्याप्रवि- भागरूपमिति	P. 1, „ 2. विद्याऽविद्याप्रविभागरूपं
P. 8, „ 18. शब्दोपप्राद्वतयेति	P. 1, „ 5. सर्वशब्दोपप्राद्वतया
P. 10. विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेनेतितद्याचष्टे	P. 1, „ 10. विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेनेति । एकस्य
P. 11. स्वप्रविषयप्रत्यवभासवदिति	P. 1, „ 11. स्वप्रविषयप्रत्यवभासवत् ।

Such instances could be multiplied.

But this impression is falsified by the fact that while many of the words and phrases in the printed text are found explained in the manuscript, many of the 'pratikas' or catchwords in the manuscript do not find a place in the

printed text. If the printed text should have been the original on which the *Ṭikā* could be supposed to be a commentary it should contain all the catch-words. Further, the '*pratijñā*' of the author in the opening verses is that he is writing a commentary on the work of Bhartṛhari and not of any other author. So much so, we are forced to infer that Bhartṛhari should have written a prose *Vṛtti* commenting on his own *Kārikās*, and that both the *Kārikās* and the prose *Vṛtti* should have been known by the name of *Vākya Padiya*. This is corroborated by Puṇyarāja and Helārāja in their own words :—

(*Vākya Padiya*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit series),

Vol. I, p. 64, line 23 :

यत्पुनरनेन वृत्तावुक्तम्....

Vol. I, p. 101, line 3 :

एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनि-  
र्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम्

Vol. I, p. 106, line 5 and line 19 :

एषां च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ....

यथा प्रदर्शितं स्ववृत्तौ टीकाकारेण....

Vol. II, p. 1 :

काण्डद्वये यथावृत्ति

The above references to the *Vṛtti* of the author of the *Vākya Padiya* could be taken to conclusively prove that Bhartṛhari should have been the author of a prose *Vṛtti* on his own *Kārikās*.

The comparison instituted above shows that, as some of the phrases explained in the *Ṭikā* are found in the printed text and are supposed to be those of Bhartṛhari by Vṛṣabha Deva, the printed commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa* might have been an adaptation by Puṇyarāja (or by somebody else ?) of Bhartṛhari's own gloss. It will be interesting to note the colophon at the end of the first *Kāṇḍa* of the printed commentary which runs thus :—

Vol. I, p. 62 :

इति श्रीमहावैयाकरणहरिवृषभविरचितवाक्यपदीयप्रकाशे आगमसमुच्चयोनाम ब्रह्म-  
काण्डं समाप्तम् ॥

It is needless to point out (thanks to the editors of the work in having faithfully printed the original) that the authorship of the commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa* is not clearly mentioned. It will also be interesting to note

the absence of any benedictory beginning in the printed commentary of the first Kāṇḍa and the absence at the end of this Kāṇḍa of any resume by Puṇyārāja similar to the one we find at the end of the second Kāṇḍa. We leave it to scholars to draw their own inferences from the above facts and we shall feel highly thankful if they could point out any further clues which would throw additional light on this matter.

[N. B.—It would be of advantage in this connection to draw attention to the following prose extract from the Vākya-Padīya quoted by Maṃmaṭa in his Kāvya-prakāśa.

“तथाचोक्तं वाक्यपदीये—‘न हि गौः स्वरूपेण गौः, नाप्यगौः गोत्वाभिसंबन्धात् गौः’ ।”—

Ullāsa II-Kārikā 8.

Perhaps the prose Vākya-Padīya to which Maṃmaṭa refers is Bhartṛhari's own Vṛtti on the Kārikās of the Vākya Padīya. S. K. Śastri.]

## PĀṆINI AND YĀSKA.

BY

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A. (HONS.),

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

It has been long believed by eminent scholars that Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, should be considered anterior to Pāṇini by at least two centuries. The only evidence they would rely on, is the Sūtra यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे II-4-63 of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Dr. Goldstucker would further support his argument thus : (Pāṇini and his place in Sanskrit Literature, p. 222).

'A second and equally strong reason is, in my belief, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the Grammatical Samjñās which occur in Pāṇini's work.

'Amongst these terms there is one which especially allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pāṇini, viz., the term Upasarga, prefix or preposition. Pāṇini employs it in many of his Sūtras ; he does not define it ; it must consequently have been in use before he wrote. Yāska, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it. \* \* \*

'It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yāska could have known the classes of Upasarga as defined by Pāṇini, and their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted. But not knowing the grammar of Pāṇini is, in the case of Yāska, tantamount to have preceded it.'

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar' has dealt with the subject at some length and holds the same opinion because, as he says, of the 'overwhelming evidence' of Yāska's anteriority.

In this short note an endeavour is made to prove the priority of Pāṇini. In the course of my study of the Nirukta, the numerous quotations which Yāska gives from the Brāhmaṇas and the extraordinary amount of respect with which their authority is referred to, particularly struck me as a thing quite contrary to what one would find in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. In continuing the subject further, I was able to note a few points which would appear to necessitate the conjecture that Pāṇini must be considered to have preceded the author of the Nirukta.



The reference in the Sūtra V-1-62 to two Brāhmaṇas with the number of Adhyāyas each contains seems to support the conjecture, though a far-fetched one, that Pāṇini knew only two Brāhmaṇas which he considered to form a separate literature while the others were Anu-Brāhmaṇas. It may here be pointed out that it would not be inconsistent with the history of the growth of Vedic literature to suppose that all such Anu-Brāhmaṇas might have been latterly placed on a par with the chief Brāhmaṇas in the Vedic literature.

Further, our conjecture seems to receive support from the fact that the Brāhmaṇas were not at all considered to form part of the Vedic literature by Pāṇini. A comparison of the two Sūtras V-1-61 and 62, and the particular mention of the word ब्राह्मणानि as different from छन्दस् in the Sūtra छन्दो ब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि IV-2-66 ॥ would testify to the truth of the above fact.

From the paucity of reference and the doubt that Patañjali seems to create on the subject, it could be easily shown that the *Vedatva* of the Atharva Veda was not at all an established fact during the time of Pāṇini. On the other hand Yāska is said to quote from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, the chief Brāhmaṇa of the Atharva Veda, as authority for the regularity of certain Vedic formations. (*vide Dr. P. D. Gune's article on the Brāhmaṇa quotations in the Nirukta. page 50, Bhāṇḍārkar Commemoration Volume.*)

Nobody has yet advanced any argument to disprove the conjecture of Dr. Goldstucker that Pāṇini could not have known any of the Upaniṣads, especially with the respect with which they are looked to, while Yāska quotes a certain Upaniṣad Mantra for his authority. (Page 210, *Nirukta*, Śrī Venkateswar Steam Press, Bombay.)

While the term Veda is used by the Niruktakāra in the sense of the 'Vedas' (page 20, *Nirukta*) Pāṇini does not at all use the word in its nominal and collective sense.

The word 'Upadhā' is used in the same sense as defined by Pāṇini, by the Niruktakāra.

The last of all but not the least is the absence of a rule for the formation of the word 'Vārṣyāyaṇi' in the whole range of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, while he is quoted as an ancient authority by Yāska.

It will be interesting to note the boast of Yāska that the study of grammar will be useless without the study of his *Nirukta* (page 68, तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कात्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च.) It is nothing but the echo of the innate appre-



hension that his work could not stand on a par with the famous Vyākaraṇa ; and it needs no saying that the first Grammarian who expounded the principles of grammar as a system was no other than the sage Pāṇini. And it is also significant to note on the other side that while Pāṇini refers to all kinds of literature prevalent in his time Vedic, as well as classical, no reference at all is found to the Nirukta.

As already pointed out, the respect with which the Brāhmaṇas are quoted along with the Nigamas while their *Vedatva* was not at all recognised by Pāṇini together with the above considerations do point to the conclusion that Pāṇini should be considered anterior to Yāska.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY IN THE CULTURAL  
HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

*Aravaṇavatikaḷ* (அறவணவடிகல்) = [Ācārya.....*Dharmapāla*...?]  
in the *Śaṅgam* age.

BY

PROFESSOR S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S.,  
*Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College,*

AND

*Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.*

*Aravaṇavatikaḷ* is one of the most prominent characters in the *Maṇimēkalai*, one of the well-known twin epics in Tamil belonging to the *Śaṅgam* age. In the *Maṇimēkalai* he is introduced as a venerable, old, benevolent and learned Buddhist monk who was held in high esteem by all who happened to know him during the period of *Śeraṇ Śēnkuttuvan*. This Buddhist monk is described as vouchsafing light, true insight and final absolution to many a person yearning for knowledge, and to the heroine, *Maṇimēkalai*, who renounced the world in her youth and approached him as an earnest Buddhist disciple seeking to realise the highest truth. Anybody really interested in the reconstruction of the ancient history of South India cannot fail to appreciate duly the value of such reliable data as may happen to be extricated from the tangle and jumble of historical and legendary elements that make up the partly human and partly superhuman, and not seldom anachronic or parachronic, plot of works like the *Maṇimēkalai*. In this belief, a few data of considerable value to students of South Indian history, which are actually found available in the teachings put in the mouth of *Aravaṇavatikaḷ* in the last two sections (XXIX and XXX), more especially in the penultimate section of the *Maṇimēkalai*, are now proposed to be placed before the world of scholars interested in Indological studies. It is also proposed to make a few suggestions which would be helpful in identifying *Aravaṇavatikaḷ*, if he could be taken to possess any acceptable degree of historicity. It would hardly be unreasonable to hope that all this would lead to the crux of the problem of the *Śaṅgam* age being tackled more successfully and satisfactorily than hitherto.

A careful perusal of the contents of section XXIX (*Tavattirampūṇṭu tarumaṅkēṭṭa kūtai*) of the *Maṇimēkalai* as compared with such particulars as are available about Ācārya Diṇṇāga's works—particularly his *Nyāya-pravēśa* and *Pramāṇasamuccaya*—would tend to establish, to every unbiased reader, beyond any reasonable doubt—(1) that the principles of Buddhist logic, as outlined in this section of the *Maṇimēkalai* are almost entirely based upon Ācārya Diṇṇāga's *Nyāya-pravēśa*, and to some extent on his other works also; most of the definitions, illustrations and even the order of enumeration in several instances answering almost exactly to the corresponding parts of the *Nyāya-pravēśa*; and (2) that, while section XXIX of the *Maṇimēkalai* cannot be assigned to the *pre-Diṇṇāga* period of Buddhist logic, there are sufficient indications to place it in the *post-Diṇṇāga* period, close to the transition to certain departures advocated by Dharmakīrti by way of improvement. In support of the former of these two propositions, attention may, with advantage, be drawn to certain very striking correspondences between *Aravanavaṭikaḷ's* teachings as recorded by *Śīttalai Śāttanār* and Ācārya Diṇṇāga's *Nyāya-pravēśa* and other works.

<i>Maṇimēkalai</i>	<i>Diṇṇāga</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
(a) ஆதி சினைந்திரானவை யிரண்டே. உயதமில் பிரத்தியங்கருத் தனவென்ன [XXIX-47, 48.]	(a) प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च प्रमाणं हि द्विलक्षणम् । Pramāṇa-samuccaya Chapter I S.C.V.H.I.L. page 277 f-n.	<i>tamil</i> line 2 of (a) is equivalent to <i>samyak</i> .
(b) சுட்டுணர்வைப் பிரத்தி யக்கமெனச்சொலி, விட்டனர் நாமசாதிருண் க்கிரியைகள். [Ibid—49, 50.]	(b) प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं नामजात्याद्यसंयुतम् ॥ [Pramāṇa-samuccaya Chapter I S.C.V.H.I.L. page 277 footnote]	<i>a, b, c, d, e, f</i> In all these cases- it will be seen that what is found in the <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> is a faith- ful rendering or adapta- tion of Diṇṇāga's Sans- krit text.
(c) எணயனவைகனெல்லாங் கருத்தினி லான முறைமையினனு மானமாம். [Ibid—55, 56.]	(c) प्रमेयं तत्र संसिद्धं न प्र- माणान्तरं भवेत् । Ibid.	

Maṇimēkalai

Dinnāga

Remarks

- (d) பக்கமேதுத்திட்டாந்த முபநய நிகமனமென்னவைந்துள  
[Ibid-57.-58.] பக்ஷ: , हेतु: , दृष्टान्त: , उप  
नय: निगमनं चेति पञ्चा-  
वयवा: ।

S. C. V. H. I. L-

- (e) உபநயநிகமனமிரண்டுத் திட்டாந்தத்திலேசென்ற டங்கும்.  
[Ibid-109-110.] பக்ஷஹேதுதூஷாந்தவச்சநேஹிபிராபி  
கானாமபிரதிதோஸ்ய: , प्रतिपाद्य  
त इति.....एतान्येव त्रयोऽ  
वयवा इत्युच्यन्ते  
[Nyāya-pravēśa p. 1]

- (f) பக்கப்போலியொன்பது வகைப்படும்.  
பிரத்தியக்கவிருத்த மது  
விருத்த ஸ்வவசனவிருத்த  
முலோக  
விருத்த மாகமவிருத்த மப்  
பிர  
சித்தவிசேடண மப்பிர  
சித்த  
விசேடியமப்பிரசித்தவுபய  
மப்பிரசித்த சம்பந்தம்  
மென.  
[Ibid-147-153.] பக்ஷாभासा नव—प्रत्यक्ष-  
विरुद्ध: , स्ववचनविरुद्ध: , आ-  
गमविरुद्ध: , अप्रसिद्धविशे-  
षण: , अप्रसिद्धविशेष्य: , अप्र-  
सिद्धोभय: , अप्रसिद्धसंबन्ध-  
श्च—इति  
(Nyāya-pravēśa) 2

- (g) ஏதுப்போலியோதின் மூன்றாக  
மகித்த மனைகாந்திகம்  
விருத்தம் மென  
வுபயாசித்தமன்னியதா  
(தரா) சித்தஞ்  
சித்தாசித்தமாசிரயாசித்த  
மெனநான் கசித்தம்.  
[Ibid 191 to 195] (g) हेत्वामासास्वयः-असिद्धः  
अनैकान्तिकः (अनिश्चितः),  
विरुद्धश्चेति। असिद्धश्चतुर्विधः  
उभयासिद्धः, अन्यतरासिद्धः,  
सिद्धासिद्धः, आश्रयासिद्धश्चे-  
ति ।

Ibid.

- (h) அனைகாந்திகமுஞ் சாதாரண மசாதாரணஞ் சபக்கைக  
[Ibid 191 to 195] (h) अनैकान्तिकः षोढा—साधा-  
रणः , असाधारणः , सपक्षैक-  
g, h, i, j, (See remarks about a to f)

1. This reference is to the page of the edition of the Nyāya pravēśa, which is being published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. p. 193.

2. This extract and all the further extracts from the Nyāya-pravēśa are, unless otherwise specified, based upon the provisional reconstruction of the text of the Nyāya-pravēśa from the account of the Tibetan version of that work, as given in pages 289 to 293 of Dr. Satish-candra Vidyābhāṣa's History of Indian Logic.

<i>Manimēkalai</i>	<i>Diināga</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
தேசவிருத்தி விபக்கவி யாபி விபக்கைக தேசவிருத்தி சபக்க வியாபி யுபயைகதேச விருத்தி விருத்த (1) வியபிகாரி யென்றாறு.	देशवृत्तिः, विपक्षव्यापी, विप क्षैकदेशवृत्तिः, सपक्षव्यापी, उभयैकदेशवृत्तिः, विरुद्धाव्य- भिचारी चेति । <i>Ibid.</i>	(h) <i>viruttaviyapicāri</i> in line 5 of the Tamil text is undoubtedly an error and should be corrected as <i>viruttāviyapicāri</i> .
(Ibid 211 to 216)	(i)	
விருத்தந்தன்னைத் திருத்த கவினம்பிற் றன்மச்சொருப விபரீத சாதனந் தன்ம விசேடவிபரீதசா தனந் தன்மிச்சொருப விபரீத சாதனந் தன்மிவிசேடவிபரீதசாத ன மென்ன நான்குவகைய தாகும்.	विरुद्धश्चतुर्विधः — धर्मस्व रूपविपरीतसाधकः, धर्मवि- शेषविपरीतसाधकः, धर्मि- स्वरूपविपरीतसाधकः, धर्मि- विशेषविपरीतसाधकश्चेति । <i>Ibid.</i>	
(Ibid 276 to 281)	(i)	
சாதன்மியிருட்டாந்த வாபாச மோதிலைந்து வகையுள் தாருஞ் சாதனதன் மலிகலமு ஞ்சாத்திய தன்மலிகலமு முபய தன்ம லிகலமு மண்ணுவயம்— விபரீதான் ணுவயமென்ன, வைதன் மியிருட் டாந்த வாபாசமுமை வகைய சாத்தியா வியாவிருத்தி சாதனவியாவிருத்தி யுபயாவியாவிருத்தி யவ் வெதிரோகம் விபரீதவெதிரோக மென்ன.	साधर्म्यदृष्टान्ताभासः पञ्च विधः — साधनधर्मविकलः, साध्यधर्मविकलः, उभयधर्म विकलः, अनन्वयः, विपरी- तान्वयश्चेति । वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्ता भासः पञ्चविधः—साध्या व्यावृत्तिः, साधनाव्यावृत्तिः, उभयाव्यावृत्तिः, अव्यतिरेकः, विपरीतव्यतिरेकश्चेति । <i>Ibid.</i>	
(Ibid 330 to 340)	(k)	
விருத்த(1)வியபிகாரி திருத்தாவேதுவாய்	विरुद्धाव्यभिचार्यपि संज्ञ यहेतुरुक्तः । यथा शब्दः अनि	(k) Dharmakīrti drops <i>विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी</i> in his scheme of fallacies. See pages 111 and 112 of the <i>Nyāyabindu</i>



*Maṇimēkalai*

*Diṇṇāga*

*Remarks*

விருத்தவேது விற்குமி  
டங்கொடுத்தல்  
சத்தமரித்தஞ் செயலி  
டைத்தோன்றலி  
னெத்தெனினச் செய  
லிடைத் தோன்றற்குச்  
சபக்கமாயுள்ள கடாதி  
நிற்கச்  
சத்தநித்தந் கேட்கப்படு  
தலிற்  
சத்தத்துவம் போலெனச்  
சாற்றிடுத  
லிரண்டினுஞ்சங்கயமா  
யேகாந்தமல்ல.

त्यः प्रयत्ननान्तरीयकत्वात्,  
घटादिवदित्युक्ते, शब्दो नि-  
त्यः श्रावणत्वात्, शब्दत्वव  
दिति ॥

Nyāya-pravēśa as re-  
constructed from the re-  
ference by Dharmakīrti  
in Nyāyabindu-page 111  
Vidyavilas Press, Benares

Ibid. 268-275)

(1)

தன்ம விசேட விபரீத  
சாதனஞ்  
சொன்னவேதுச் சாத்தி  
யதன்மந்  
தன்னிடை விசேடங்கெ  
டச் சாதித்தல்  
கண்முதலோர்க்கு மிந்தி  
ரியங்க  
ளெண்ணிற் பார்த்தந்  
தொக்குறிதறவினாற்  
சயனானவர்கள் போல  
வென்றற்  
றொக்குறிதறவினென்  
கின்றவேதுச்  
சயனானத்தின் பார்த்  
தம் போலக்  
கண்முதலிந்தியங்கனையும்  
பார்த்தத்திற் சாதித்  
துச்  
சயனானவானைப்போலா  
கிக்  
கண்முதலிந்தியத்துக்  
கும் பரனாய்ச்  
சாதிக்கிற நிரவயவமா  
யுள்ள  
வான் மாவைச்சாவயவ  
மாகச்  
சாதித்துச்சாத்தியதன்மத்  
தின்  
விசேடங்கெடுத்தலின்  
விபரீதம்.

(1)

तत्र च तृतीयोपीष्टविधात  
कृद्विरुद्धः । यथा परार्थाश्चक्षु  
रादयः संघातत्वात् शयनास  
नाद्विज्ञवत्-इति । तदिष्टासंहत  
पारार्थ्यविपर्ययसाधनाद्विरुद्धः

Nyāya-pravēśa as quot  
ed by Dharmakīrti in  
Nyāyabindu—page 103  
Vidyavilas Press, Benares

(1) Dharmakīrti drops  
this variety of विरुद्ध See  
pages 103 and 104 of the  
Niyayabindu

(Ibid. 289 to 303)



A careful consideration of the above extracts and similar passages in section XXIX of the *Maṇimēkalai* would immediately convince any scholar knowing sufficient Sanskrit and Tamil that the principles of Buddhist logic as stated to have been expounded by *Araṇaṇaṭikaḥ* are almost entirely based upon *Diṇṇāga's Nyāyapraṇēsa* and the author of the *Maṇimēkalai* has faithfully rendered *Diṇṇāga's* definitions and illustrations, besides closely following the order of enumeration found in his Sanskrit text. For obvious reasons, therefore, the philosophical sections of the *Maṇimēkalai*, along with the whole epic, of which these sections form an integral part, and in which the Buddhist motif of the plot would look truncated without them, should be assigned to a period not earlier than *Diṇṇāga*. Further, there are certain unmistakable indications to show that this Tamil epic should be assigned to the period between *Diṇṇāga* and *Dharmakīrti*. From the following extract from *Vācaspatimiśra's Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭīkā*, it may be easily made out that *Diṇṇāga's* definition of *Pratyakṣa* “प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्” is defective as pointed out in the *Nyāya-vārtika* by *Uddyōtakara*, in that it is vague and there is no reason why it should be taken to apply to *jñāna*, while *Dharmakīrti's* definition shows a distinct improvement.

“न हि यथा सम्यग्ज्ञानमधिकृत्य प्रत्यक्षादिलक्षणं कृतं कीर्तिना तथा दिङ्मागेन, येनाधिकारात् ज्ञाने व्यवतिष्ठेत कल्पनापोढमिति भावः ।” *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, *Vidyāvilās Press. Benares page 154.*

This extract evidently refers to the improvement which *Dharmakīrti* introduces in the sub-joined text of the *Nyāya-bindu* :—

“द्विविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानम्, प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च । तत्र कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षम्”  
pages 10 and 11 of the Benares editions.

It is clear that *Diṇṇāga* omitted to expressly indicate the topical connection of his definition of *Pratyakṣa* with *Jñāna* or *Samyag-Jñāna*, that this omission made it possible for cavilling critics like *Uddyōtakara* to make adverse comments and that *Dharmakīrti* took care to supply this omission and thus disarm any further opposition on this ground. In this connection, the expression *ṭetamil* (எதமில்) in the second line of the Tamil extract (a), at page 3 supra, deserves special attention. This Tamil phrase is exactly equivalent to *samyak* (सम्यक्), *ṭetamil* literally meaning *flawless*. It scarcely needs any further explanation to see that, consistently with the spirit of the original Sanskrit texts, *ṭetamil*, in the Tamil extract referred to should be

construed with *aḷavai* and thus this Tamil extract also provides an amendment, which is distinctly *post-Diñnāga* and similar to what we find in the corresponding portion of Dharmakīrti's Nyāya-bindu. But certain important modifications in Diñnāga's classification of fallacies which Dharmakīrti introduced in his Nyāyabindu, are not found adopted in section XXIX of the *Mañimēkalai* and the latter faithfully follows Diñnāga's arrangement and classification. Attention is invited in this connection to the extracts and remarks marked (k) and (l) at page 195 supra. It would hardly require any effort to understand from these extracts and remarks that, while Diñnāga would include respectively in the scheme of *anaikāntika* and *viruddha* the two varieties *viruddhāvyaḅhicarī* and *iṣṭavighātakṛt*, the latter corresponding to *dharmaviśeṣa-viḥarītasādhana*, Dharmakīrti would simplify the schemes of *anaikāntika* and *viruddha* by eliminating the two additional varieties referred to. From all this, it follows as an irresistible conclusion that, while *Mañimēkalai* should be later than *Diñnāga*, it should also be earlier than *Dharmakīrti*. If Uddyotakara could be taken to be earlier<sup>1</sup> than Dharmakīrti, it would be easy to see how, during the transition between the former and the latter, a few amendments like *ōtamil* in the tamil extract (a) above referred to, might possibly have been introduced by some of the less combative and more loyal followers of Diñnāga, like *Dharmapāla*, who came between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti. There is good evidence to believe that Diñnāga flourished in the earlier part of the fifth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> According to Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World and Dr. Satiś-Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic<sup>3</sup> Dharmapāla should be assigned to circa 600-635 A. D. Should these data be accepted, I do not see how one could get clear away from the conclusion that the *Mañimēkalai* should be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D., howsoever this view might clash with current notions about the Śāṅgam age of Tamil literature. In the light of these observations and in view of the fact that the name *Aravanavaṭikaḷ* looks much like a Tamil translation or adaptation of the name *Ācārya-Dharmapāla*, it would not be regarded as far-fetched or fanciful to suggest that perhaps *Aravanavaṭikaḷ* was a historical character and

1. See pages LXXVII to LXXIX in the foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

2. See pages LXXIII to LXXVII Ibid. See also Vidyābhūṣaṇa's 'History of Indian Logic' page 270. According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Diñnāga's date is circa 450 to 520 A. D. According to the foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, Diñnāga's date is circa 345 to 425 A. D.

3. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic (p. 302-303.)

was no other than the great *Ācārya-Dharmapāla* himself, who, according to Beal, was born at Kāñcīpura as the eldest son of a great minister, became a Buddhist *Bhikṣu* and ripened into one of the foremost Buddhist logicians and eventually rose to the high rank of the head of the Nālandā University, shortly before *Yuan Chwang* visited India <sup>1</sup>

These statements come into direct conflict with most of the current notions regarding the Śaṅgam age, from which, it is widely believed, and perhaps rightly also, that the Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai* cannot be dissociated. It remains for us now to consider whether any useful hints might be put forward which might be expected, on further investigation, to lead to a satisfactory solution of the problems and puzzles regarding the Śaṅgam age. According to Kanakasabhai, <sup>2</sup> the age of the Śaṅgam is the early part of the second century A. D. Mr. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar<sup>3</sup> would assign the Śaṅgam literature to the latter half of the fourth century or the earlier half of the fifth century A. D. Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar <sup>4</sup> and the late Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai <sup>5</sup> would respectively assign the Śaṅgam literature to the end of the second century and the middle of the eighth century A. D. After discussing all these theories, in a very able and lucid manner, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, in his Śaṅkara-Pārvaṭi prize thesis—*The Kāveri, the Maukharis and the Śaṅgam Age*—recently published by the Madras University, arrives at the following provisional conclusion (page 57) “This process of elimination leads to the conclusion that Karikālan, Imayavaramban and Śēṅguṭṭuvan could not have undertaken their northern invasions—within the upper and lower limits we have adopted—in any period other than the one between 208 and 184 B. C., or that from 148 B. C., down to the early years of the Christian era, or again, in the third century A.D.” Whatever might be the truth regarding the northern invasions by Tamil kings described in the Śaṅgam literature, we have already seen why the *Maṇimēkalai* should be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century A. D. From the available informations about the history of the Pallavas, it may be surmised that the beginning of the seventh century, which marked the beginning of the reign of Mahendra-Vikrama, <sup>6</sup> was not such as would

1. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic (p. 302-303.)

2. The Tamils 1800 years ago (p. 164.)

3. Śēran Śēṅguṭṭuvan (p. 177.)

4. Ancient India (p. 367.)

5. An Indian Ephemeris—I-i-108, 468.

6. G. Jouveau Dubreuil—The Pallavas (p. 37.)

preclude the possibility of certain Tamil kings undertaking northern invasions or northern pilgrimages incidentally associated with a few martial adventures, more especially before the consolidation of Harṣavardhana's power. Perhaps, one of the Malwa kings, stated in the *Cilappatikāram* to have been present at the consecration of Kaṇṇaki's image, was the Buddhist king of Malwa, identified by Professor Sylvan Levi as <sup>1</sup> *Śīlāditya I*, surnamed *Dharmāditya* of the Valabhi-dynasty, who reigned from circa 595 to 610 A.D. During the earlier part of his rule, Mahendravarman might have maintained a very favourable attitude towards Buddhism and Buddhist Bhikṣus. Probably, he is the king of *Kāñci* referred to in section XXVIII of the *Maṇimēkalai*. The miserable plight of *Kāñci* in the grip of famine and similar troubles, as described in this section of the *Maṇimēkalai*, may easily be regarded as quite consistent with the *Cālukyan* troubles in the first decade of Mahendravarman's reign. These suggestions may easily be reinforced by certain particulars furnished by two important Sanskrit Manuscripts, which were recently acquired by me for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, through its peripatetic search party working under my official direction and control. One of them contains a considerable portion of a metrical romance called the *Avantisundarikathāsāra* <sup>2</sup> and the other a small fragment of a prose romance called the *Avantisundarikathā* <sup>3</sup>. These particulars are: that <sup>4</sup> *Bhāravi*, the famous poet was otherwise known as *Dāmōdara* and was a contemporary of *Durvināta*, a Western Gaṅga prince and of *Sihmaviṣṇu*, the Pallava king of about 590 A. D; <sup>5</sup> that *Daṇḍin* was *Bhāravi*'s grandson and in the latter part of his life, was the protege of *Narasihmavarman* (circa 646 A. D.). the Pallava king of *Kāñci*, who was the son and successor of *Mahendravikrama*; and that *Daṇḍin*, in his boyhood and youth, perhaps during the early years of *Mahendravikrama*, had to leave *Kāñci* and wander about for several years, when *Kāñci* was almost devastated <sup>6</sup> by

1. See V. A. Smith's *Early History of India—1914*—(p. 324-325.)

2 and 3. These two manuscripts are now deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. In 1924, the Sanskrit text of these two incomplete Mss. was printed and published through the Maṅgalodayam Press, Trichur, by my friend and former pupil—Mr. S. K. Ramanatha Śāstri—who was for several years working under me as a member of the peripatetic party of the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. The pages of these works referred to in this paper belong to this printed edition.

4. *Avantisundarikathā* page 6; *Kathāsāra* (p. 3.)

5. A....*Kathā*, page 7; *Kathāsāra* (p. 7.)

6. ....परचक्रमीड्या पर्याकुलेषु इमिकचोक्ताण्डये(षु).....(आ) रामपदिकु सुभगाह



aggressive sieges laid and pushed by enemies like the Cālukyan kings, famine and pestilence. The devastated and famine-stricken condition of Kāñcīpura described in section XXVIII of the *Maṇimēkalai* appears to correspond to the similar plight of that city referred to in the *Avantisundarīkathā*<sup>1</sup> and *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*,<sup>2</sup> during Daṇḍin's youth, which synchronises with Mahēndravikrama's earlier days. Again in the *Avantisundarīkathā*, a *stha-pati* called *Māndhātā*, who was the immediate or proximate ancestor or teacher of another great architect called *Lalitālaya*, a contemporary of Daṇḍin and Narasiḥmavarman, is found described as विस्मापितदुर्जय 3 (who excited the wonder of King *Durjaya*). Probably, this *Durjaya* is identical with *Durjaya*,<sup>4</sup> the king of *Aṅga-dēśa*, referred to in the *Maṇimēkalai*. The historical data furnished by the two anonymous Sanskrit Works *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Kathāsāra* are very reliable and cannot be easily brushed aside; for, these data are corroborated in several respects by inscriptional and other evidences and seem to rest upon a tradition which is earlier than the eleventh century A.D.<sup>5</sup> Having due regard to all these facts and to what is said above about the date of the *Maṇimēkalai*, the view which now holds the field regarding the *Śaṅgam* age, that it cannot be later than the third century A.D., requires a very careful reconsideration at the hands of all those that are anxious to see that historical truth should never be allowed to surrender to mytho-poetic theories. In order to contribute my mite towards a reconsideration of the problem of the *Śaṅgam* age,

1. ....दुर्भिक्षक्षीणके..... A—Kathā (p. 7.)

2. सविक्रिये पुरे तस्मिन् परचक्रोपरोधतः ॥

स चचार शुभाचारस्सर्वाभुर्वीमुदारधीः ॥ Kathāsāra (p. 4.)

3. विस्मापितदुर्जयस्य मान्धातुनाम्नः स्थपतेः प्रशस्तवास्तुशास्त्रार्थसार.....ललितालयनामा  
A—Kathā (p. 7-8.)

4. *Maṇimēkalai*, *Mahāmahōpādhyāya* V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition—(7)-99 ; (10) 54 ; (11) 134 ; (12) 40.

5. Neither in the fragmentary Manuscript of the *Avantisundarīkathā* nor in the Manuscript of the metrical romance—*Avantisundarīkathāsāra* could we find any reference to the author. So, these two works should, for the present, be taken to be anonymous, if we confine our attention strictly to what is found in the Manuscripts themselves. But, luckily, Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.), in his mammoth work on Sanskrit Poetics called the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, says that a poet called Pañcaśikha is the author of *Śūdrakakathā* and uses the word *ānanda* (आनन्द) in the last verse of each canto, as the distinctive, emblematic word of his composition [Vide the Manuscript of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* deposited in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras—Volume II (p. 437 line 13.) This is an old habit of great poets like *Pravarasēna*, *Bhāravi* and *Māgha*, who use as their respective emblematic words *anurāga*,

I have, in this paper, placed certain noteworthy facts before scholars ; and I also propose to publish in the future issues of this *Journal of Oriental Research*, a careful English translation of sections XXVII, XXIX and XXX of the *Maṇimēkalai*, with suitable annotations where necessary, explaining obscure portions and drawing attention to the correspondences between the *Maṇimēkalai* and Sanskrit works on Buddhist logic like Diñnāga's *Nyāya-praveśa* and Dharmakīrti's *Nyāya-bindu*.

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Lakṣmi and Śrī. In the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, we find the word ānanda used at the end of each canto as the distinctive mark of the composition. No two Sanskrit poets could ever have used the same word as the distinctive mark of their respective compositions. So it may be safely inferred that a poet called Pañcaśikha, who was earlier than Bhōja, should have written the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*. About the authorship of the fragmentary manuscript of the *Avantisundarikathā*, nothing useful could be said in the present state of our knowledge.





# श्रीभट्टकुमारिलपादाः श्रीप्रभाकरमिश्राश्च ॥

BY

PANDIT A. CHINNASWAMI SASTRI

“VEDA VISARADA” “MIMAMSA KESARI.”

*Professor of Mimāṃsā Benares Hindu University.*

प्रपूर्वस्मिन् प्राच्यविद्याविमर्शसदोऽधिवेशने कल्कितानगरे प्रचलिते श्रीमद्विः  
पण्डितप्रवरैः (Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastriji M.A., I.E.S. Madras)  
श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशशिपादैः विषयमिममधिकृत्य व्यलेखि कश्चन लेखोऽपाठि च यत्र श्री-  
कुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः समकालिकत्वं, प्रभाकरमिश्राणां श्रीकुमारिलशिष्यता च निपुण-  
तरमुपापादि । ततः कल्कितानगरनिवासिभिः श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रिमहाशयैः स्व-  
कीये पूर्वमीमांसोपोद्धाते (Introduction to the Purva Mimamsa by Pasu-  
patinath Sastri, M. A., B. L. Calcutta) श्रीमतां Professor S. K. शास्त्रि-  
पादानां मतं खण्डयितुं बहुधा प्रयतितम् । न तु किञ्चिदपि पारितम् । कुतो न पारितम् ?  
कश्शक्नुयात् निपुणतरमीक्षमाणः स्फीतालोकमध्यवर्तिचामीकरखण्डं अनपलपनीयप्रभा  
पुञ्जच्छुरितं भास्वतीतिमालीढं रजतशकलमध्यवसातुम् ? । अतः श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रि-  
महाशया विषयेऽत्र विफलप्रयत्नाः, प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां तानवष्टब्धुमाहितमतयो विद्व-  
द्वराः श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणोऽपि तानेवानुकुर्वन्ते इति निरूपयितुं श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः  
कालनिर्णयः प्रमाणैराभ्यन्तरैः क्रियते प्रथमम् ।

## श्रीकुमारिलकालः (तत्र पूर्वावधिः)

श्लोकवार्तिके अपोहखण्डनावसरे तत्खण्डनार्थं प्रवृत्ताः कारिकाः अवतारयन् पार्थ-  
सारथिमिश्रः<sup>1</sup> “यत्तु भिक्षुणा,” यदपि भिक्षुणोक्तं,” तदपि तुल्यमित्याह” इति भिक्षो-  
रेव खण्डनं वार्तिककारैः क्रियते इत्यभिप्रेति । अयं च भिक्षुः बौद्धसमयाचार्यो धर्म-  
कीर्तिरेव, येन बौद्धसम्प्रदायावलम्बिनः प्रमाणवार्तिककारिका, प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति, न्याय-  
विन्दुमुखा बहवो ग्रन्थाः विरचिताः । अयमेव भिक्षुपदेन व्यपदिश्यते ग्रन्थकृद्भिः । श्री-

जयन्तभट्टैः न्यायमञ्जर्यां बौद्धप्रत्यक्षलक्षणखण्डनावसरे—<sup>(1)</sup>“यत्तावत्कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्त-  
मिति लक्षणम् । प्रत्यक्षस्य जगौ भिक्षुः तदत्यन्तमसाम्प्रतम् ॥” इति ‘कल्पनापोढम-  
भ्रान्त’मिति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं भिक्षुणोक्तमित्यभिप्रेयते । धर्मकीर्तिना च स्वीये न्यायविन्दौ  
<sup>(2)</sup>“तत्र कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षम् ।” इति प्रत्यक्षस्य लक्षणमुक्तम् ।

किञ्च श्लोकवार्तिके प्रत्यक्षसूत्रे <sup>(3)</sup>लक्षणं यच्च यैरुक्तं” इत्यादिकं धर्मकीर्तिं मनसि  
निधायैवाभिहितमिति तत्रत्यन्यायरत्नाकरतोऽवगम्यते । अयं हि तत्रत्यो न्यायरत्नाकरः—  
“ननुकल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षं; तच्चतुर्विधम् - इन्द्रियजमिन्द्रियजसमन्तरप्रत्ययोद्भवं,  
मानसं सर्वचित्तचैत्यानामात्मसंवेदनं, योगिज्ञानं च भावनाबलजम्.....तथापि कल्प-  
नापोढलक्षणस्य योगिज्ञानस्य तन्निमित्तता भविष्यतीत्यत आह-लक्षणमिति” प्रायेणै-  
तदानुपूर्वीकाण्येव सूत्राणि धर्मकीर्तिग्रन्थे न्यायविन्दावुपलभ्यन्ते<sup>(4)</sup> । अतो धर्मकीर्त्यभि-  
हितं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमेव श्लोकवार्तिकस्य लक्षणपदेनाभिप्रेतमिति निश्चेतुं शक्यते ।

यद्यपि धर्मकीर्तितः प्राचीनेन बौद्धाचार्येण दिङ्नागेनापि प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमेतादृशमभि-  
हितं, तथापि तेन “प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं” इत्येव लक्षणमुक्तं नत्वभ्रान्तपदसहितम् । धर्म-  
कीर्तिनैव च तत्र भ्रान्तपदं योजितम् । सुस्पष्टमिदमभिहितं न्यायकाणिकायां श्रीवाचस्पति-  
मिश्रैः<sup>(5)</sup> “दिङ्नागस्यैव कल्पनापोढं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम्, अपि तु तदेवाभ्रान्तत्वसहितं प्रत्यक्ष-  
लक्षणमिति मन्यते स्म कीर्तिः प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तमिति ॥” इति । “इति सुनिपुण-  
बुद्धिलक्षणं वक्तुकामः पदयुगलमपीदं निर्ममे नानवधम् । भवतु मतिमहिम्नश्चेष्टितं दृष्ट-  
मेतज्जगदभिभवधीरं धीमतो धर्मकीर्तिः” इति कण्ठतो धर्मकीर्तिमेव पदद्वयघटितलक्षण-  
कर्तारं व्यपदिशन्त्यग्रे जयन्तभट्टा अपि न्यायमञ्जर्याम्<sup>(6)</sup> । अतश्चाभ्रान्तपदघटितं प्रत्यक्ष-

1. See. P. 92. Nyāyamañjari of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. Vizianagaram series

2. See. P. 11. Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti, chowkhamba Series.

3. श्लोकवार्तिक P. 160.

4. cf. तत्र कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षं.....तच्चतुर्विधम्—इन्द्रियज्ञानं स्वविषयान्तरविषयसह-  
कारिणेन्द्रियज्ञानेन समन्तरप्रत्ययेन जनितम् । मनोविज्ञानं सर्वचित्तचैत्यानामात्मसंवेदनम् । भूतार्थभावन-  
प्रकर्षपर्यन्तजं योगिज्ञानं चेति. Nyāyabindu, P. 11. Chowkhamba edition.

5. See. P. 192. Nyāyakanikā—Benares edition.

6. P. 100. Nyāyamañjari Vizianagaram Edition.

लक्षणं वदन् धर्मकीर्तिरेव भिक्षुपदवाच्यः । अभिप्रायोऽयमनूदितो महामहोपाध्यायैः श्री-  
सतीशचन्द्रविद्याभूषणमहाशयैरपि<sup>(1)</sup> । स एव च श्लोकवार्तिके खण्ड्यते इत्यवगम्यते ।

धर्मकीर्तिसमयश्च प्रायेण 635—650 कि.अ. इति श्री सतीशचन्द्रविद्याभूषणमहो-  
दयैरेव<sup>(2)</sup> निरणायि । तदुपष्टम्भिका युक्तयः तैरेव स्वग्रंथे यावदपेक्षं कथिता इति  
नात्रापि मया पुनः पिष्टं पिष्यते ।

एवं च श्रीधर्मकीर्तिसमकालिकैः किञ्चिदिव तत्समनंतरकालिकैर्वा श्रीकुमारिलपादैर्भा-  
व्यम् । अयं श्रीकुमारिलकालस्य पूर्वोऽवधिः ॥

### उत्तरावधिः

तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहकर्ता शान्तरक्षितो बौद्धसमयाचार्यः स्वीये ग्रन्थे श्रीकुमारिलपादान्  
बहुत्र बहुधा खण्डयति, तद्वार्तिकानि चाक्षरशोऽनुवदति । तस्य च कालः प्रायेण  
705 कि.अ. प्रभृति 750 पर्यन्तो निर्णीतः । अतः 700 कि.अ. तः पूर्वकालिकैः  
कुमारिलैर्भाव्यम् । अयं चोत्तरावधिः कुमारिलकालस्य । अतश्च कि.अं 635 तोऽनन्तरं  
700 तः पूर्वं श्रीकुमारिलपादा आसन्नित्यवगम्यते प्रमाणैः ॥

### श्रीप्रभाकरसमयः

न्यायमञ्जर्यां भ्रमस्वरूपनिरूपणप्रकरणे प्रभाकरमतखण्डनावसरे<sup>(3)</sup> 'ननु स्मरणानु-  
भवयोः विवेकमप्रतिपद्यमानः प्रवर्तत इत्युक्तम् । श्रुतमिदं यदत्रभवद्भिः धर्मकीर्तिगृहादा-  
द्वतं दृश्यविकल्पावर्थावेकीकृत्य प्रवर्तत इति । किञ्च चौर्यमपीदं न कथञ्चन स्वार्थं पुष्पाति'  
इति व्याहरन्तो जयन्तमष्टा भ्रमस्य स्मरणानुभवयोर्भेदाग्रहनिबन्धनत्वकथनं न प्रभा-  
करोपज्ञं, किन्तु बौद्धाचार्यधर्मकीर्त्युपज्ञं, तद्वन्थादेव प्रभाकरमिश्रैस्तदनुयायिभिश्च गृहीत-  
मित्यभिप्रयन्ति । तदनुगुणमेव बृहत्यां<sup>(4)</sup> 'कोऽयमध्यासो नाम ? विवेकाग्रहणात् स्व-  
रूपमात्रग्रहणात् भेदेनाननुसन्धानात् सामान्याध्यासः' इत्युपलभ्यते पंक्तिः । अतः  
प्रभाकरमिश्रैः धर्मकीर्तिसमनन्तरकालिकैर्भाव्यम् ।

शान्तरक्षितेन श्रीकुमारिलपादान् बहुधा खण्डयता न प्रभाकरनामोल्लिखितं, न  
वा कचिदपि तन्मतं खण्डितम् । शान्तरक्षितात् पूर्वं यद्यभविष्यन् प्रभाकरग्रन्था ते वा

1. page 150 "The History of Indian Logic.

2. See. P. 303. Indian Logic.

3. P. 181. Nyāyamañjari.

4. P. 8. Brhati manuscript copy of Māhamahopādya Dr. Ganganatha Jhā.

तर्हि नूनमखण्डयिष्यत् शान्तरक्षितः । अतः शान्तरक्षितेन ग्रन्थकरणसमये बाल्यावस्थाया-  
मथ वा छात्रावस्थायामवस्थिताः प्रभाकरमिश्रा इत्यवगम्यते ।

शान्तरक्षितशिष्येण कमलशिलेन 725—786 कि.अ. समयेऽवस्थितेन तत्त्वसंग्रह-  
व्याख्याने विना मूलसम्बन्धं विना स्वातन्त्र्येण-प्रभाकरमतखण्डनात् तदानीं प्रभाकरगुरवः  
प्रौढिमानमापन्ना इत्यध्यवसातुं शक्यते ।

अष्टसहस्रीकर्ता विद्यानन्दः (न्दी) श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरावुभावपि <sup>(1)</sup>नाम्नानुवदति  
कुमारिलकारिकाश्च बह्वीः। तस्य च विद्यानन्दस्य कालः मार्किं कि.अ. 800 प्राय इति <sup>(2)</sup>  
Dr, सतीशचंद्रमहाशयैः <sup>(3)</sup>मोहनलालवंशीधरमहोदयाभ्यां च निश्चितम् । अतः तत्समये  
कुमारिलप्रभाकरावुभावपि प्रौढिमापन्नाविति निश्चीयते । एवञ्च कि.अ. 635 तः  
अनन्तरं 700 तः पूर्वमेव श्रीकुमारिलपादाः सुप्रसिद्धा आसन् । कि.अ. 725 तः  
परं 760 पर्यंतं प्रौढिमापुः प्रभाकरमिश्राः, कि.अ. 800 तः पूर्वं तु सुप्रसिद्धिम-  
भजन्नित्येव प्रमाणबलादायाति ।

सति चैवं श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः समकालिकतां अत एव च तयोर्गुरुशिष्यभावं  
प्रमाणैरुपवर्णयतां तदर्थं च काश्चन तदवबोधिनीं लौकिकीमाख्यायिकामप्यनुसरतां श्रीमतां  
(Professor) शास्त्रिपादानां मतं खण्डयितुं बद्धादराः तदर्थं च श्रीकुमारिलपूर्व-  
कालिकाः प्रभाकरमिश्रा इत्यभिदधतः श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रिणः कियदवधि प्रयत्नसा-  
फल्यमभजन्निति विमृशन्तु विचारशीला एव ॥

सर्वत्र प्रकरणपञ्चिकादिग्रन्थेषु कुमारिलपादा एव वार्तिककारादिपदैर्व्यपदिश्यन्ते ।

बहुत्र मीमांसाग्रन्थेष्वन्येषु च वार्तिककार, वार्तिककारपाद, वार्तिककारमिश्र,  
मीमांसावार्तिककार, भट्ट, भट्टाचार्यादिपदान्युपलभ्यन्ते । न्यायकणिकायां - यथाहुरत्र  
भवन्तो वार्तिककारमिश्राः (पु. 179), यथाह्यत्रभवान् वार्तिककारः (पु. 188) इति;  
प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां - तदाहुर्वार्तिककारमिश्राः (p. 1, 114) तत्रैव वाक्यार्थमातृकावृत्ति  
प्रकरणे-तदाहुर्वार्तिककारपादाः (पु. 10, 12, 15 द्वैः 17) इति; न्यायकन्दल्यां-  
प्रशस्तपादव्याख्यायां—यथाहुर्वार्तिककारमिश्राः (पु. 88) इति, चित्सुख्यां-तथा चाहुर्भट्ट-

1. P. P. 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 46, 47, 48, etc. Aṣṭasahasri of Vidyananda Nirnaya Sagar edition.  
2. See. P. 186. Indian Logic.  
3. Preface to Aṣṭasahasri and Tatvartha Śloka-vārtika N. S. Press.



पादाः (पु. 124, 125, 231, दैः 140, 155), तथा चोक्तं मीमांसावार्तिककार-  
मिश्रैः (पु. 130), उक्तं हि भट्टाचार्यैः (पु. 103) इति; न्यायमञ्जर्या तथा च  
भट्टः (पु. 3, 275) इति च दृश्यन्ते पदानि । अत्र सर्वत्रापि कुमारिलपादा एव तैस्तैः  
पदैर्व्यपदिश्यन्ते ? उतान्योऽपीति विचारे प्रथमं तावदिदमस्माभिर्विर्मर्शनपदवीमुपाख्यै-  
रालोचनीयं-यत् कुमारिलपादेभ्योऽन्यं कञ्चनामंसत तर्हि कुतो न तौ भेदेन व्यपादिशन्  
ग्रन्थकृत इति । नैतावतास्माभिः मीमांसायामन्यो वार्तिककारो नास्तीति निश्चीयते, परन्तु  
उपरितनग्रन्थेषु प्रकरणपञ्चिकादिषु निर्दिष्टाः कुमारिलपादा एव । त एव च तत्तत्पदैर्व्यपदि-  
श्यन्त इत्येवात्र निरूप्यते ।

प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां हि “तदाहुर्वार्तिककारपादा” इत्यारभ्य याः पठिताः कारिकाः  
तास्सर्वा अपि प्रायेण समुपलभ्यन्ते श्लोकवार्तिक एव । एतच्च निरूपितं पं. रामस्वामि  
शास्त्रिभिः बरोडापुस्तकालयस्थैः खीये निबन्ध इति नाल बहु निरूपणीयम-  
वशिष्यते ।

किञ्च एकत्र “वार्तिककारपादाः” इत्यारभ्य यः श्लोकः पठितः स एवान्यत्र “तथा  
चोक्तं मीमांसावार्तिककारमिश्रैः” इत्यारभ्य <sup>(1)</sup> पठ्यते । स च श्लोकः श्लोकवार्तिके उप-  
लभ्यते । अतः कुमारिलपादा एव तत्र वार्तिककारपाद, वार्तिककारमिश्रपदाम्यामभिधी-  
यन्ते इत्येवेदं मुख्यं प्रमाणम् ।

एवं तत्रैव वाक्यार्थमातृकावृत्तौ “वार्तिककारपादास्तु लाक्षणिकान् सर्ववाक्यार्था-  
निच्छन्तः” इत्यारभ्य “तदाहुः वाक्यार्थो लक्ष्यमाणो हि सर्वत्रैव हि लक्ष्यते” इति समा-  
पितम् । इदमेव प्रकरणं विवृण्वानाः श्रीचित्सुखाचार्याः <sup>(2)</sup> “भट्टपादैश्च वाक्यार्थस्य सर्वत्र  
लाक्षणिकत्वस्वीकारात्-“वाक्यार्थो लक्ष्यमाणो हि सर्वत्रैवेति च स्थितिः इति” इत्यभिदधतो  
वाक्यार्थस्य सर्वत्र लाक्षणिकत्वाङ्गीकरणं कारिकार्थमिदं च कुमारिलपादीयमाशेरते । नोप-  
लभ्यते श्लोकवार्तिकादौ कारिकार्थमिदम् । अतोऽनेन कारिकार्थेन श्रीकुमारिलकृतग्रन्थान्तरे  
स्थेयम् । एवं च वार्तिककारपाद, वार्तिककारमिश्र, भट्टपादादिपदानां, न कश्चिदपि  
भेद इत्यत्र, इदानीमुपलभ्यमानकुमारिलग्रन्थापेक्षयाऽन्योऽप्यस्ति कश्चन ग्रन्थः तत्कृतो  
यत्रैतादृशानामवस्थितिस्संभाव्येतेत्यत्र च किमन्यदितोऽपि प्रमाणान्तरमन्वेष्टव्यम् ।

1. See P. 5. Vākyaarthamātrkā vṛtti of Prakaraṇa pañcīkā and also P. 154. चित्सुखी  
Bombay edition.

2. P. 155, Citsukhi (Tatvapradīpikā)



एवं 'धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे हि वेदेन करणात्मना । इतिकर्तव्यताभागं मीमांसा पूरयिष्यति' इति कारिकापि भट्टपादीयत्वेनाङ्गीकृता श्रीशालिकनाथजयन्तभट्टाभ्याम् । नैव चोपलभ्यते श्लोकवार्तिकदिष्वधुनोपलभ्यमानेषु कारिकेयं कुमारिलग्रन्थेषु । अतोऽवश्यमापतिते ग्रन्थान्तरस्वीकरणे स एव ग्रन्थो बृहट्टीकारूपो महांश्च श्लोकवार्तिकाद्यपेक्षया, तत्रैव चेतस्ततो दृश्यमानानां कारिकाणां समावेशो भवितुमर्हतीत्यनुमीयते । <sup>(1)</sup>अर्थापत्यन्तराणामुदाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे बृहट्टीकायां वार्तिककारैर्दर्शितः" इति युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूर्णीस्थं वाक्यमप्याशयमिममवष्टभाति ॥

### तर्कपादप्रभृत्येव बृहट्टीकाप्रवृत्तिः ।

पूर्वोक्तवाक्येनार्थापत्तिनिरूपणं पक्षदोषनिरूपणं च बृहट्टीकायां विस्तरेण कृतमित्यध्यवसीयते । <sup>(2)</sup>"पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासामुदाहरणविस्तरः" इति कारिकाव्याख्याने श्रीपार्थसारथिमिश्रैः, 'अर्थापत्यन्तराणामुदाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे बृहट्टीकायां श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्यादिना दर्शितः' इत्याह । श्लोकवार्तिकेऽपि <sup>(3)</sup>श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्ययं कारिकांशः अनुमानपरिच्छेदे पक्षदोषनिरूपणावसरे उपलभ्यते । अतश्च श्लोकवार्तिके संक्षेपेणोक्तं, बृहट्टीकायां तु सोदाहरणप्रपञ्चं तत्रैवानुमानपरिच्छेदेऽर्थापत्यन्तराणि निरूपितानि इति खलु न्यायरत्नाकराशयः । अनेन बृहट्टीका तर्कपादत एव प्रवृत्तेति निश्चेतुं शक्यते । सति चैवं प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिमहाशयैः <sup>(4)</sup>टुप्टीकाया नामतः सादृश्यात् बृहट्टीकापि चतुर्थध्यायमारभ्यैव प्रवृत्ता भवेदिति यदभ्यूहितं न तत् प्रमाणपदवीमारूढम् ॥

### नयविवेकोक्ता दशपक्षी षट्पक्षी च कुमारिलपादानामेव ।

अत एव वार्तिककारीयत्वेन नयविवेकोद्धृता दशपक्षी बृहट्टीकास्थैवेति (Professor.) शास्त्रिपादानामभ्यूहनं सर्वथा समञ्जसमेव । एवं षट्पक्ष्यपि श्लोकवार्तिकस्थैव । तत्रैव हि षडपि पक्षा वार्तिककारैः सङ्गृहीताः प्रथमतः । ततः पूर्वं पृथक् पृथगवस्थिताः । इदं च 'प्रचक्षते' 'केचित्' 'अपरे' इत्येकैकपक्षनिरूपणावसरे केचिदादिपदं प्रयुज्जानैः वार्ति-

1. See P. 76. L. 31. Śāstradīpikā with yuktisnehaprapūraṇi Bombay edition,

2. P. 452, Śloka-vārtika. Benaers edition-

3. 368 Śloka-vārtika Chowkhamba series.

4. Introduction to Prabhākara vijaya Sānskrit Sahitya Paṇḍit series.

ककारैरभिव्यञ्जितम् । विवृतं च न्यायरत्नाकरकारैः । अतश्च वार्तिककारैः कुमारिलपादैरेवै-  
कत्र संगृहीतत्वात् कुमारिलपादानामेवेयं षट्पक्ष्यपि इति व्यवहारो नायुक्तः । एवमभि-  
सन्दधानैरेव श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिभिः खण्डितोऽप्ययमाशयः अनुपदमेव <sup>(1)</sup>‘अस्तु वा  
कथमपीयं कुमारिलपादानामेव षट्पक्षी इति’ स्वयमेवोरीकृतमिति नात्राधिकं प्रयतितव्यम् ।

एवं षट्पक्ष्याः कुमारिलपादीयत्वमङ्गीकृत्यापि <sup>(2)</sup>‘एवमपि नयविवेकोद्धृता षट्पक्षी  
नेयं भवितुमर्हति’ इत्यादिना ‘नयविवेकोद्धृतायां षष्ठः औचित्यानुभाषणरूपः, श्लोकवार्तिके  
च षष्ठः पक्षः अथशब्ददूषणरूपः । अतश्च नयविवेकनिरस्या षट्पक्षी नेयं भवितुमर्हति’-  
त्युक्त्वा अनन्तरमेव नन्वित्यादिना ग्रन्थेन तत्रत्यन्यायरत्नाकरग्रन्थावलम्बेन अथशब्ददूष-  
णस्यौचित्यानुभाषणरूपत्वमपि प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां स्वयमेव तैरङ्गीकृतमिति नात्रापि  
निरूपणीयमवशिष्यते ।

परन्तु <sup>(3)</sup>‘नयविवेकव्याख्यायां न्यायकोशे औचित्यानुभाषणमेव स्वीकृतं वार्तिक-  
कारैरित्युक्तत्वात् कुमारिलपादैश्च श्लोकवार्तिके औचित्यानुभाषणरूपमथशब्ददूषणमिव  
परिसंख्यापक्षोऽपि स्वीकृत इति न तत्रत्यवार्तिककारपदेन कुमारिलपादानां ग्रहणं भवितु-  
मर्हति’ इति यदभिहितं तैः तत्रैव परं किञ्चिदस्ति वक्तव्यम् । न परिसंख्यापक्षः कुमारिल-  
पादैः स्वीकृतः । पक्षान्तरनिरूपणवत् परिसंख्यापक्षस्यापि निरूपणावसरे <sup>(1)</sup>‘सर्वव्याख्यो-  
<sup>(2)</sup>पालम्भ <sup>(3)</sup>प्रत्याख्यान <sup>(4)</sup>परिसंख्यारूपेषु चर्तुषु पक्षेषु मध्ये पूर्वेषां त्रयाणां पक्षाणां  
तत्तदोषदुष्टत्वात् तदपेक्षयायं पक्षः श्रेयानिति तदुपोद्बलनार्थमुक्तम् । एतावता तत्रापि  
वार्तिककारस्य समादर इति कथमवगतम्? अन्यथा उत्तरत्रास्मिन्नपि पक्षेऽरुचिसूचको  
वाशब्दः <sup>(4)</sup>‘सूत्रकारप्रशंसा वा लोक इत्यादिनोच्यते’ इति कारिकास्थः कथं सङ्गच्छताम् ।

अतश्च एकैकं पक्षं स्वस्वपूर्वपूर्वपक्षे अरुचिप्रदर्शनपूर्वकं निरूप्य <sup>(5)</sup>‘वेदाध्ययन-  
मात्राद्वा तेनाथेत्यस्य दूषणं’ इत्यथशब्ददूषणपरतया भाष्यं संयोज्य तत्रैव भाष्यार्थमुपसं-  
हरन्तो भट्टपादाः तदेवौचित्यानुभाषणरूपमथशब्ददूषणमाद्रियमाणा दृश्यन्ते । अतश्च  
नयविवेकोद्धृता षट्पक्षी कुमारिलपादानामेवेति त एव नयविवेककारैः वार्तिककारपदेन  
व्यपदिश्यन्त इति ।

1. See. P. 12. Introduction to Prabhākara Vijaya.

2. See. P. Do.

3. See. P. 13. Introduction of Prabhākara.

4. P. 20. Ślokavārtika.

5. P. 21. Ślokavārtika.

एतावता प्रमाणजातेनेमे विषयास्सिद्धा भवन्ति—

- (१) श्रीकुमारिलप्रभाकरयोः प्रायशस्समकालिकत्वमेव ।
- (२) प्रकरणपंचिकादौ वार्तिककारादिपदैः कुमारिलपादा एव व्यपदिश्यन्ते ।
- (३) बृहट्टटीका प्रथमाध्यायप्रथमपादत एव रचिता कुमारिलपादैः ।
- (४) प्रकरणपंचिकादावनूदिताः श्लोकवार्तिकादावनुपलभ्यमानाः बृहट्टटीकास्थ-  
त्वेनाध्यवसातुं शक्यन्त एव ।
- (५) दशपक्ष्यपि तत्र संभाव्येतैव ।
- (६) षट्पक्ष्यपि नयविवेकोद्भूता श्लोकवार्तिकस्थैव ।
- (७) अतो नयविवेके निरस्यमाना वार्तिककाराः कुमारिलपादा एव ।
- (८) सति चैवं श्रीप्रभाकरमिश्राणां श्रीकुमारिलपादशिष्यत्वे न काचिदप्यनुपपत्ति-  
रिति ॥

अतस्सिद्धं श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणां श्रीपशुपतिनाथशास्त्रिणां च मनोरथतरुणा  
न किंचिदपि फलितमिति ॥

यद्यपि पूर्वोक्तेषु विषयेषु (Professor) शास्त्रिपादैरेव स्वीये निबन्धद्वयेऽपि  
पुष्कलानि यानि प्रमाणान्युपन्यस्तानि तान्येव विषयानिमान् समर्थयितुमलमिति नात्र मया  
किंचिदपि करणीयमासीत्, तथापि तदुपन्यस्तैः प्रमाणैरपरितुष्यन्तः श्रीयुक्तानन्तकृष्णशास्त्रि-  
महाशयाः प्रभाकरविजयभूमिकायां<sup>(१)</sup>यत् ‘अस्मदाचार्यपादाः, केचन तदन्तेवासिनो वा  
अपरेषामपि प्रमाणानां बहूनां प्रदर्शनेन स्वीयं मतं समर्थयिष्यन्तीति वयं विश्वसिमः’ इत्य-  
वोचन्; अतः (Professor) शास्त्रिपादानामन्तेवासिष्वन्यतमेन मयात्र यतनीयमसीत् ।  
मन्येऽहमिदानीं श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणः परितुष्टा भवेयुरिति । यदि नैतावतापि तेषां  
मनस्तुष्टिः, तर्हि यतिष्ये सत्यवसरे तन्मनस्तोषणाय पुनः । इतोऽप्यधिकं तु नात्रावकाशमर्हती-  
त्येतावतैवाधुना विरम्यते ॥

चिन्नस्वामिशास्त्री

१—११—२६.

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, POONA, 1926-27, Vol. VIII,  
Part II, September, 1926.

1. *Madhusūdana Saraswati: His Life and Works*, by P. C. Divanji. The author deals with the life of Madhusūdana relying mainly on the preface in Sanskrit by Pandit Iswara Candra to the Harilitavyākhyā. Pandit Iswara Candra himself relies on a work called Vaidikavāda Mīmāṃsā which purports to be a family chronicle of the Western Vaidika Brahmins of the Kāśyapa Gotra of the Yajur-Veda residing in Bengal.

2. *Apotheosis in the R̥gveda*, by Sitanath Pradhana.—The author tries to show that some of the deities worshipped in the R̥gveda were human chieftains or heroes apotheosized in later times by the Vedic priests in their prayers. A powerful chieftain is first praised for his heroic feat, then glorified, afterwards almost deified and at last fully exalted to the status of a god by the later authors of hymns. Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati, who was a leader of the Angirasas and flourished in the early R̥gvedic period was fully apotheosized in the hymns of later Vedic poets and received regular prayers from them. The gradual development of the human Bṛhaspati into the god Bṛhaspati is traced in detail.

3. D. R. Bhandarkar discusses the date of Kālidāsa basing his arguments on certain stanzas in the *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI (the wedding of Indumatī) and he infers that the date may be the second and third quarter of the sixth century A. D.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 3, September, 1926.

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti gives a large number of quotations from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya to show the existence of Kāvya literature prior to Patañjali, and then he discusses the gods that appear in the Mahābhāṣya, the sacrifices and rituals, and then he discusses the acquaintance of Patañjali with philosophical systems.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. II No. 4, December, 1926.

1. *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China*, by Prof. L. Finot.—The author traces the main lines of the history of Buddhism in Assam, British Malaya, Siam, Cambodia, Laos and Burma. References are

given to show that the two great religions—Śaivism with the preponderance of the cult of the Linga and Mahāyāna Buddhism under the form of the Lokeśwara cult were far from being mutually incompatible, more or less intimately associated.

2. *The Jaina References in Buddhist Literature*, by Kamta Prasad Jain.—The author compares the various rules of conduct prescribed for Buddhists in works like the Dīgha Nikāya with the rules laid down for Jaina Munis and sees in them enough evidence to prove the credibility and authenticity of the Digambara Jaina Śāstras. He concludes that the Jaina conceptions were the same even near Lord Mahāvīra's predecessor Śrī Pārśva.

3. *Rasātala or the Under-world*, by Nundo Lal Dey.—Paurāṇic and other traditions, the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasātala as described in ancient Hindu works and a striking similarity with those of Turkestan or Tartary as recorded in the Avesta and in the works of travellers—all these, in the author's opinion, go a great way to establish the identity of Rasātala with Central Asia. There is a strong resemblance in the names of towns, rivers, lakes and mountains of Rasātala with those of Turkestan. Compare Bhogavatī and Bākhdi; Aśma and Aksu; Bali-ālaya and Balkh; Maṇimayi and Maymeni; Bibhavari and Bavaru or Babylon; Rāmaṇiyaka and Armenia, etc., etc. The author concludes by saying that the Mahābhārata also appears to place the first inhabited portion of the earth in Pātāla or Central Asia (Udyoga, Chapter 98).

4. *The Gītā Literature and its relation with Brahma Vidyā*—U. C. Bhattacharjee.—The position of the Bhagavadgīta in the Gītā literature and the relation between the Gītās and the Upaniṣads are fully examined.

5. *Indian Literature Abroad*—Probhat Kumar Mukherjee.—The sixth of the series of articles by the author appears in the current issue. The progress of the study of Sanskrit outside India during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries are clearly narrated.

THE INDIAN REVIEW, December, 1926.

*Female Education in Buddhist Literature*, by Dr. B. C. Law.—The author gives profuse references from Buddhist Literature to prove the existence of widespread and deep culture among Buddhist women.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY—Madras, Vol. V, Part III, Serial No. 15, December, 1926.

1. *Ancient Indian Culture*, by H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, G. C. I. S.—The speech of His Highness on the occasion of the Jubilee of the



Mahārāja's Sanskrit College is reproduced. A spirited appeal is made for the better study of Sanskrit as it is the light derived from Sanskrit learning that illumines, interprets and recreates the marvellous world of Asiatic art in all its ramifications from the Steppes of Central Asia to the coral strands and reefs of the Far Eastern Archipelago.

2. *The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthaśāstra*, by Dr. K. Nag. [Translated from the Original French by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar]. The author deals with the general outline of the diplomacy of Kauṭilya under the following sub-heads—Prakṛti (basis), Śāḍgunya (the sixfold method), Samśrayavṛtti (method of alliance), Sandhi (method of Entente), Sandhi-karma and Sandhi-mokṣa (conclusion and abrogation of Ententes).

3. In an article on "Forgotten Episodes in Mediaeval India" Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar of the Madras University draws attention to the "political condition of India after the death of Harṣa".

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY, Vol. I, Part I, July, 1926.

*Trikaliṅga*, by G. Ramadas.—The author traces the uses of the word Kailiṅga and comes to the conclusion that Trikaliṅga does not mean 'three Kaliṅgas' and that 'Trikaliṅgādhipati' was not an empty title but was a substantial and dignified title assumed by that sovereign who held sway over the highlands intervening between the coast strip called Kaliṅga and the Dakṣiṇa-Kosala or the modern Chhatisgarh.

IBID, Vol. I, Part II, October, 1926.

1. *King Nānya Deva on Music*, by M. Ramakrishna Kavi.—The author brings to light a hitherto unknown work called Bharatabhāṣya or Bharatavārtika by King Nānya Deva. The King is identified with a powerful King of Mithilā who ruled over it from 18th July 1097 to A. D. 1133 according to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. Nānyadeva closely follows Abhinavagupta whom he cites by name and is quoted in turn by Śaṛṅgadeva.

2. *Influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit on Telugu* by C. Narayana Rao.—The author gives comparative tables of Telugu words with Sanskrit roots as well as tables containing Pāli, Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī and Apabhramśa equivalents of select Telugu words.



THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY—Bangalore,  
Vol. XVII, No. 3, January, 1927.

1. *The Cult of Agastya : and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art*, by O. C. Gangoly.—The author briefly narrates the story of Agastya and after fixing him in the southernmost shrines of the Indian continent in Vedāraṇyam, traces him across the seas to the distant lands of Cambodia, Borneo and Java. The author concludes his very interesting article by stating that the highest rank given to Agastya in Indo-Javanese hierarchy of gods distinctly leads us to the irresistible conclusion that in him we may recognise not only the Aryanizer of the Drāviḍa Deśa but, also, the Titanic Architect—the Great Builder of a Greater India beyond the Seas.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, October, 1926.

1. K. A. Nilakaṇṭha Śāstri, writes an article on "The Later Śātavāhanas and the Śakas". He discusses the question under three aspects : (1) In what relation does Nahapāṇa stand to Caṣṭāna and his line, (2) What is the relation between these two lines of foreign rulers and the Śātavāhanas, (3) Among the Śātavāhanas themselves what is the relation in which the reign of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī stands to that of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi. After a very elaborate and scholarly discussion of the subject he concludes that Nahapāṇa retained power till the end of the first century, when the race was uprooted and the power of the Śātavāhanas was restored. Then the Śātavāhana power collapses and the Northern Districts fall into the hands of the Kshatrapas.

2. F. G. Peterson writes a note of Kālidāsa. He regards the *Setubandha* the work of Kālidāsa, who wrote it, according to the commentator Ramadāsa, at the order of Vikramāditya on behalf of Pravarasena. The latter is the grandson of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Peterson does not attach much importance to the statement in *Harsacarita* that *Setubandha* was written by Pravarasena. He concludes that Kālidāsa lived at the courts of both the Emperor and his grandson, that the banished Yakṣa of the Megha dūta is Kālidāsa himself—an old man ; in *Raghuvamśa* the cantos I to VIII, describe the three first Gupta Emperors, and the last four cantos describe the three Vākātaka Kings from Rudrasena II to Devasena (d. 430) *Mālavikā* celebrates the wedding of Dhruvadevī, *Kumāra* the birth of her son, *Śakuntala* the infancy of the son, and *Vikramorvaśī* his coronation (405 A. D., cf. *Raghu* VIII-92). Kālidāsa was born in 370 A. D., wrote the three plays and *Kumāra* at Candragupta II's court, between 395 and 410, and *Megha* and *Raghu* in the court of Bhoja Kaṭaka in 410 to 430.

Ibid January, 1927.

Dr. De of the Dacca University draws attention to the manuscript of a Mahākāvya called *Kīcakavadha*, with an *āśīḥ* (benediction), a rare beginning for a Mahākāvya. Premacandra Tarkavāgiśa has referred to this work in his commentary on *Kāvyaḍarśa*. Dr. De promises an edition of the book soon.

Carl Charpentier writes a note on the name *Śūrṣāraka*, the modern Sopara near Bombay. *Śūrṣāraka* is related to *Śūrṣa* (a winnowing basket). There is a story of Paraśurāma recovering the land on the west coast of India from the ocean by blowing away the waters of the sea with a winnowing basket. Charpentier connects the name with this mythological event.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY, January, 1927.

"Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's Days," by C. S. Srinivasachari. The writer gives a historical sketch of the study of Tamil during the last four centuries, mostly by missionaries.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDLISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT,  
NEUE FOLGE, BAND V, HEFT 2.

R. Zimmer writes a long obituary note on R. G. Bhandarkar. It is a very appreciative sketch of the great Indian scholar, drawing attention to his various literary activities, and it deserves to be translated into English and made known to all Indian readers.

WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES, 1926, BAND  
33, HEFT 3 AND 4.

There is an article by O. Steiner on the editions of the two *Saptasatis*.  
JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, September,  
1926.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri's paper on "The Āsura Expansion by Sea" contains many original and interesting points regarding Vedic gods, dealt with in his usual novel way.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, September, 1926.

Original Rāmāyaṇa by E. Washburn Hopkins. He discusses the problem of reconstructing the original text of Rāmāyaṇa in the strict sense of the word, and that there were different texts from the earliest times.

VISVABHARATI, October, 1926.

It continues the publication of Prof. C. Formichi's lecture on "the Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development". The R̥gveda represents the priestly element and the Atharvaveda represents the popular

element. There is a blending of the highest genius with the bare commonplace in the Indian Literatures, especially in Atharvaveda. The Atharvaveda belongs to the Kṣatriyas and forms the dynamic element in Vedic religion.

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, Vol. 21, No. 3.

Sten Konow draws attention to a parallel to Durgāpūjā in the worship of Nerthus, *i. e.*, Mother Earth, as is noted by Tacitus in his *Germania*, which was a custom among the Germans.

## EDITORIAL

By

THE PRESIDENT AND THE MANAGING EDITOR.

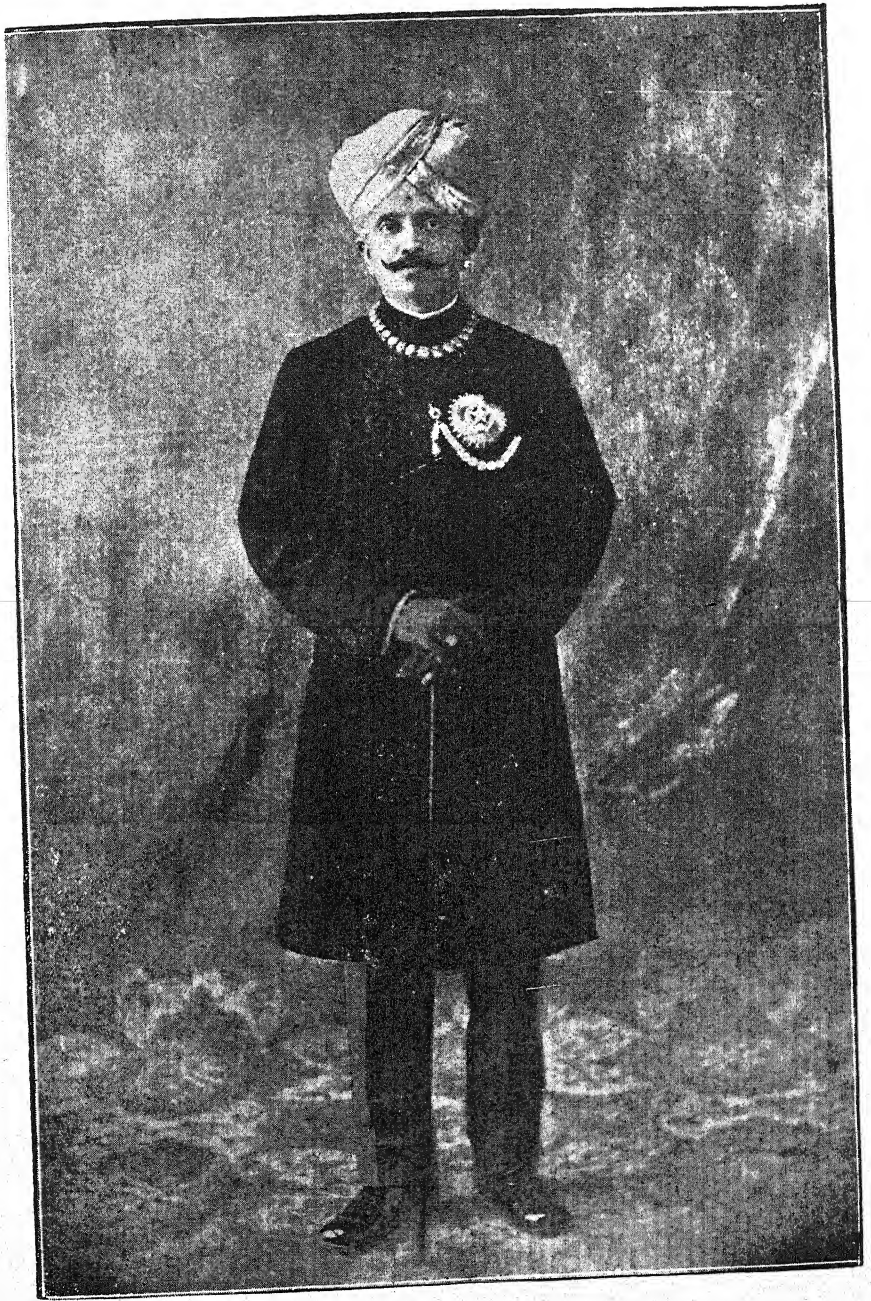
It is a matter of sincere gratification to the Editorial Board of this Journal that the title of *Mahāmahopādhyāya* has, at long last, been conferred upon Mr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College and a most active member of this Board, to whose initiative this Journal owes its existence. He has been connected with the teaching of Sanskrit for the last 21 years, first as the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Mylapore, next as the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi and lastly as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College for a period of over 13 years. Principals of educational institutions generally concern themselves more with the administrative side of the institutions under their charge than with actual teaching. But Professor Kuppuswami Sastri has not allowed his administrative duties to interfere with his teaching work, which has been both heavy and intellectually taxing in all the colleges with which he has been connected. A Sanskrit scholar of profound and varied attainments, as erudite as any pandit and as critical as any Western scholar, possessing a mastery of the four main Śāstras, he has by choice always undertaken the teaching of the most abstruse and difficult works in all the Śāstras. His command of the methods and results of Western research has enabled him to deal with the subjects from the comparative point of view and present to his pupils the learning of the East in the light of the speculations and researches of the West. In the pursuit of his favourite occupations of learning and teaching, he knows neither fatigue nor rest. Besides his honorary work as Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, his time outside the college hours is always at the disposal of such of his pupils as desire additional instruction. The revival of Śāstraic learning and the reorganization of the courses of Sanskrit Studies both for the Oriental Titles Examinations and the Honours Degree Courses are mainly due to his inspiration and efforts. The reproach of superficiality and scantiness of Sanskrit knowledge brought

against Sanskrit graduates generally can no longer be levelled against the new type of Honours Graduates in Sanskrit. He has been in fact, though not in name, a great Sanskrit Teacher in Southern India; and many are the capable pandits and scholars that have passed through his hands. The honour has never been conferred on a more worthy recipient and we offer our hearty congratulations to the Professor and hope that he will be long spared to be a teacher and a worker in the field of Sanskrit learning and scholarship.

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We beg respectfully to express our heartfelt joy to His Highness, the Mahārāja of Mysore in connection with the Silver Jubilee of His Highness which was celebrated with great pomp and eclat by the people of Mysore. The occasion was a unique one in that the joy and affection which were necessarily and deservedly given expression to, by his subjects, the people of Mysore, have also been shared by the rest of India as a whole. For, we can say without exaggeration or fear of contradiction that no other ruler of a Native State is respected throughout the length and breadth of this country as His Highness. Most of the leading men in British India gave expression to their sense of profound respect and regard for His Highness as an ideal Hindu Sovereign on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee and the many lovable and praiseworthy qualities of His Highness have been recounted with pride by them and by all the leading newspapers in the country. On behalf of our Journal, we have great pleasure in joining with them and respectfully agreeing with their sentiments. But we should like to emphasise one particular aspect which has some relation to Oriental Research. We have already referred in the Second Part of our Journal to the memorable speech which was delivered by His Highness on the occasion of the anniversary of the Mysore Sanskrit College and to the sentiments expressed by him therein with regard to the preservation and promotion of ancient Indian learning. His Highness's deep interest in Indian culture and his austere nature and religious temperament, so rare among the Hindu Princes of modern times, marks him out as an essentially Hindu Ruler fit to be classed with the illustrious role of the Sovereigns of the ancient times as a great patron of learning and culture in this country. Therefore, we humbly beg to convey through the columns of our Journal to His Highness our sense of profound respect and





H. H. SRI KRISHNA RAJA Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.,  
THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE.



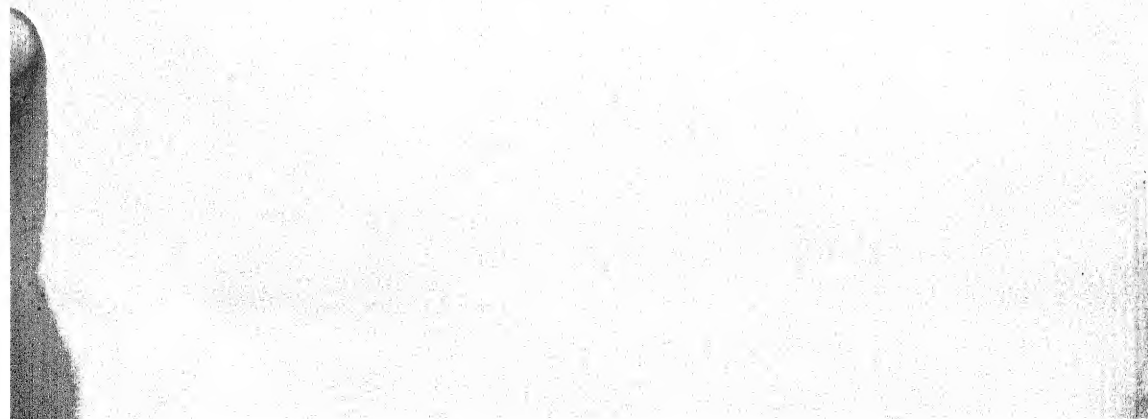


gratitude and our joy on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness's glorious reign as ruler of Mysore.

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We have heard with deep regret the news of the death of Dr. E. Hultzsch who was for a long time Epigraphist to the Government of India and the head of the Archaeological Department. He was a great oriental scholar and did notable service to the cause of Oriental Research in India both during his official career and after his retirement. He was well-versed in Sanskrit and was responsible for many valuable publications and for bringing out and editing many interesting inscriptions, especially those of Southern India.

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SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKRṬ PASSAGES AND  
THEIR BEARING ON THE BHĀSA PROBLEM

BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON),  
(Director, Manuscripts Library, Adyar.)

*kim vāśujeve śavapaṭṭa (śeṇa ?) neśe*  
*kuntīśude vā jaṇamejāe vā.*  
*aham tumam gahṇia keśahatthe*  
*duḥśāśale śīdamivāhulāmi.*

This is stanza 12 in the Cārudatta<sup>1</sup> ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series<sup>2</sup> as No. XXXIX, 1914, p. 12. The editor has used two MSS. in the preparation of this edition.<sup>3</sup> The two MSS. have two different readings for the first line of the above stanza. Curiously enough, when the editor quotes the stanza in the Preface, page II, he has a third reading<sup>4</sup> of his own, for which there is no manuscript authority. Such lapses on the part of the editor make it very difficult for scholars to argue and reach some conclusions on the authority of evidence supplied by him. In my paper on "Bhāsa, another side" <sup>5</sup> I had suggested that the scientific value of the Introduction to the Svappnavāsavadatta,<sup>6</sup> first edition, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1912, is next to nothing. I have to revert to the topic now. On p. XXII of this introduction, the editor says that the stanza :

*śaracchaśāṅkagaureṇa vātāviddhena bhāmīnī.*  
*kāśapuṣpalavenedam sāsruṇātam mukham mama.*

is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyaśāṅkaraśāstravṛtti in the second *adhyāya* of the fifth *adhikaraṇa*. In the editions of the said work, which I have consulted,<sup>7</sup> the quotation is not found in the place cited by the editor. It is really annoying when responsible editors are so careless. Among scholars

1. References are always to T.S.S. Edition, 1914 in footnotes.
2. Referred to as T.S.S. in footnotes, and designated C.
3. Cf. Preface, p. i.
4. *saha* for *śava* or *śama*.
5. Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, 1923, p. 254.
6. References always to T.S.S. Edition of 1912 and designated Sv. in foot notes.
7. Kāvyaśāṅkaraśāstras published in B.S.S. and Kāvyaśāṅkaraśāstra also.

when one makes a mistake, another scholar cannot contradict the wrong statement until the question is thoroughly investigated. Especially when most of the editions have no index and other needed facilities for references and comparisons, it is an unpardonable crime to cause such a heavy drain on the time of a scholar by compelling him to read through the whole book to verify such quotations. The stanza is quoted by Vāmana in the third *adhyāya* of the fourth *adhikaraṇa* under *sūtra* 25 on p. 145, Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1908,<sup>1</sup> and it is quoted in illustration of *vyājoktiya-lankāra*. On the same page in the Introduction to the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series edition of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* the editor says that Abhinavagupta in his *Bharatanāṭyavedavivṛti* mentions another *nāṭaka* under the name of *Daridrācārudatta*.<sup>2</sup> The book is not published and it is a voluminous work. Why does not the editor give more precise information? In the same introduction, the same page, the editor quotes from Sarvānanda's *Amara-koṣaṭīkā* sarvasva and the quotation is misleading, as he gives his own version of the passage which is different from the seven manuscripts<sup>3</sup> used by him to edit the *Ṭīkā* sarvasva. Although the above facts have very little bearing directly on the *Bhāsa* problem, one thing is brought out very clearly, and that is that no scholar can have even ordinary faith in the accuracy of the readings given in the printed texts of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. It is possible that in very many doubtful passages an examination of the manuscripts by a competent scholar might reveal several facts that will go a long way to solve many problems in the *Bhāsa* controversy.

The line :

*kim vāsujeve śavapattā (śeṇa ?) neṣe*

needs some investigation. The manuscript reading according to the edition is *śavapattāśeṇa*. Another manuscript given in the footnotes reads *śanapa*. The element *śeṇa* (presumably common to both the manuscripts) gives no sense, and the editor, with full justification, emends the reading as *neṣe*. Then the meaning would be "The Lord of *śava* or *śana* *pattāna*". Even then the meaning is not clear. What is this *śava* or *śanapattāna*? It must be a town with a temple dedicated to some deity other than Vāsudeva. Śakara, who utters this stanza, is made to indulge in absurd contradictions. In the Preface, p. II, the reading is *śahapattāśeṇa*. It is not based on any manuscript. It is either the editor's imagination or carelessness. This

1. Kāvya-mālā, Edition, p. 57.

2. Mentioned in Nāṭyadarpaṇa J. A., 1923, p. 195.

3. T.S.S., Vol. XXXVII, Preface, p. II.

reading gives no sense either. Since both the manuscripts used for the edition are wrong in the portion *-śena*, and since the editor is forced to emend the part as *-neśe*, it is only justifiable to emend the portion *śava-* or *śana-* or *śaha-*, so as to get some real sense, and I propose to emend the portion as *śiva-*. The passage then will be :

*kim vāśujeve śivapattaneśe.*

The meaning then will be, "whether it be Vāsudeva, the Lord of Śivapattana". Śivapattana must be a town with a Śiva temple as the prominent feature in it. To speak of Vāsudeva as the lord of Śivapattana is in keeping with the tone of Śākara's speech. *Vāsudeve śava-* or *śana-* or *śahapattaneśe* does not suggest the contradiction that is wanted in the text. Therefore I assume that my emendation is reasonable. I do not maintain that this emendation is the only way to get at the correct text. All that I say is that so far as our present knowledge goes the reading in the manuscripts is extremely unsatisfactory, and that the text as emended by me most probably takes us nearer to the correct text. Such a probability is considerably increased by the fact that while we do not know of any town like *śava-* or *śana-* or *śahapattana*, we know of a town called Śivapattana. In the small Native State called Cochin in the southern portion of the west coast of India, there is a place called Trichur. The most prominent feature of the town is the Śiva temple situated on an elevation in the centre of the town. The town derives its name from this temple. The real name of the town is *Triśivaperūr*, contracted into *Triśśūr* in Malayālam, and changed into *Trichur* in English. In Sanskrit it is generally designated as *Śivapura* or *Śivapattana*. This reference to a town in Malabar does not necessarily prove that the drama as a whole has anything to do with Malabar. It may be that the author Bhāsa (let us assume for the time being that he is definitely proved to be the author of all the thirteen dramas published as Bhāsa's works in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) knew the Trichur temple quite well and introduced the name of that town into his play. It may as well be that, in the original drama, the passage read differently and that in the Malayālam manuscripts, which alone are available, the scribe introduced the name of Trichur temple as a local touch, without interfering with the drama as a whole. The second alternative seems to be the more probable because of the presence in the Cārudatta of a large number of Malayālam words in the Prākṛt passages <sup>1</sup>. I am not at present considering Mṛcchakaṭika at all. Now I am examining only the Cārudatta.

1. No such Malayālam influence is seen in the Sanskrit portion.



The prose passage preceding the stanza "*kim vāśujeve*," etc. contains the word "*nāye*".<sup>1</sup> The editor has not understood the word. Obviously he cannot understand it either, as it is no Prākṛt word. The same word occurs once more in the Cārudatta (p. 16, l. 12). In both the places Śākara addresses Vasantasena as "*nāye*". *Nāye* is the vocative singular of *nāya*, a Malayālam word meaning "a dog".<sup>2</sup> It is only in keeping with the trend of Śākara's speech that he should address Vasantasena as "a dog" and not as "a bitch". The dental *n* in the Malayālam *nāya* naturally becomes a cerebral *ṇ* in Prākṛt.<sup>3</sup> On p. 6 in the Cārudatta there is the word *aṇṭhī*. It is another word which the editor has not understood. It occurs in the 5th line in the Vidūṣaka's speech. The whole passage is "(*ahiamahurassa ambassa* ?) *ajoggadāe (aṇṭhī ?) na bhakḥīadi tti*". As it is printed, it would seem that the editor has not understood the expression "*ahiamahurassa ambassa*". But in the Sanskrit rendering, there is no interrogation mark. He gives it as "*adhikamadhurasya amblasya*". The meaning is quite clear. "Of a very sweet mango" must be the meaning. It is usually when the editor is not certain of the Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākṛt that he puts an interrogation mark after the Prākṛt. He includes such words within brackets, and in the Sanskrit rendering he puts the Prākṛt words as such within brackets with the interrogation mark.<sup>4</sup> In this case he does not put down the Prākṛt word as it is but gives the Sanskrit equivalent, and he suggests no doubt regarding the Sanskrit. As he renders it, the Sanskrit equivalent of the whole passage is "*adhikamadhurasya amblasya ayogyatayā (aṇṭhī ?) na bhakṣyata iti*." The only word on which he has doubt is the word *aṇṭhī*. Assuming that the word is not known, let us translate it. The passage will mean "the *aṇṭhī* of a very sweet mango is not eaten as it is unfit". People eat the pulp of a mango, and some people eat the skin also. But no one eats the stone inside a mango. So *aṇṭhī* must mean the stone within a mango. The Malayālam word for the stone is *aṇṭi*,<sup>5</sup> and evidently *aṇṭhī* must be the prākṛtisation of the Malayālam by aspirating *ṭ* into *ṭh*. Another instance of such aspiration when a Malayālam word is changed into Prākṛt, I will show presently.<sup>6</sup>

On the first page in the Cārudatta, there is the passage "*neyyubbhāmaṇa-sugandho via gandho suṇimittam via*". This is the word of the Sūtradhāra.

1. C. p. 12.

2. Malayālam English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, Mangalore, 1872, p. 543.

3. Cf. *neyyubbhāmaṇa* below.

4. Cf. C. pp. 1, 6, 7, 28, 40, 46, 65, etc.

5. Malayālam English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, Mangalore, 1872, p. 19.

6. Cf. *bh* in *neyyubbhāmaṇa* below.

The editor has not understood the passage and he does not attempt at a Sanskrit rendering. He places the whole passage within brackets with an interrogation mark, both in the original Prākṛt and the Sanskrit rendering of the speech. The only doubtful portion seems to be *neyyubbhāmaṇa*. The rest may easily be rendered into Sanskrit and I do not know why the editor did not do so. The Sanskrit is *sugandha iva gandhas sunimittam iva*. The meaning is not also very difficult to guess. "I sense a smell like *neyyubbhāmaṇa*. I fancy the smell augurs some luck." "*Neyyubbhāmaṇa*" must have something to do with a thing having an agreeable smell. In Malayālam *neyyappa* means a rice cake (*appa*) fried in ghee (*neyyo*). *Neyyappa* is one of the delicacies of the Malabar Brahmins, and we can quite well understand the hungry Sūtradhāra's ecstasies over the smell of this *neyyappa*, if the play was staged in Malabar. *Maṇa* means in Malayālam smell. So the whole passage becomes clear. "I sense a sweet smell like the smell of cake fried in ghee, and the smell augurs luck for me."

I have shown the presence in the Cārudatta of three words which are undoubtedly Malayālam words. They are *neyyubbhāmaṇa*, *aṇṭhī* and *nāye*. The presence of these Malayālam words makes it easy to explain certain Prākṛt words that occur in the drama. Such is the case with the word *pucchīanti* on p. 35 of the Cārudatta. I do not know why the editor did not give the Sanskrit equivalent, which clearly ought to be *prcchyante*. After giving the Sanskrit form he could have written a note that the meaning is not quite clear. That does not concern me here, it was his own affair. The idea of the author is evident from the corresponding passage in the Mṛcchakaṭika.

Cārudatta<sup>1</sup>

*Ceṭi* : *haddhi, dariddo kku so*  
*Gaṇikā* : *ado kku kāmīadi adidar-*  
*iddapurusasattā gaṇīu ava-*  
*aṇīyā hoi.*

*Ceṭi* : *ajjue, uddhūdapuppham sa-*  
*haāram mahuarāo uvā-*  
*santi*

*Gaṇikā* : *hajje, evam uāsanti, de*  
*mahuarā tti (pucchīanti ?)*

Mṛcchakaṭika<sup>2</sup>

*Madanikā* : *ajjae daliddo kku so*  
*suṇīadi.*

*Vasantasenā* : *ado jjevva kāmīadi,*  
*daliddapurisasankanta*  
*maṇā kku gaṇīu loe*  
*avaaṇīu bhodi.*

*Madanikā* : *ajjae kim ihiṇakusu-*  
*mam sahaārāpādavam*  
*mahuarāo uṇa sevank.*

*Vasanti* : *ado jjevva tāo mahua-*  
*rīo vuccanti.*

1. C. p. 35.

2. References always to Bombay Sanskrit Series Edition, No. LII, 1896, designated Mr. in footnote, p. 80, 81.

Here Vasantasenā says that the bees are called *madhukara*-s, because they do not go to a tree devoid of flowers. Thus some *adhikṣepa* in meant and in the corresponding passage of the *Cārudatta* also, the meaning must be the same : *pucchānti* must mean some *adhikṣepa*. Perhaps at some early stage in the history of Sanskrit language, the root *prcch* (to ask) had the meaning of *adhikṣepa*, as the verb *to question* has even now in English as in "questionable character". The meaning may have been retained in the *Prākṛt*. In Malayālam, *pucchikkunnu*<sup>1</sup> (verb in the present tense) has the meaning of *adhikṣepa*. The Malayālam word may very well be a formation from the *Prākṛt* *pucchānti* (with Malayālam termination) and the *Prākṛt* word may here have been used in its present Malayālam meaning of *adhikṣepa* (which is probably one of its original meanings in Sanskrit also).

To sum up, *neyyubbhāmana*, *aṇṭhī*, and *ṇāye* are pure Malayālam words introduced into the *Prākṛt* of the *Cārudatta*. In the stanza, *Kim vāśujeve*, etc., *śivapattana* must be the correct reading, and it must refer to the town of Trichur in Malabar. *Pucchānti* is a *Prākṛt* word used in a sense now retained only in Malayālam. None of these words occur in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The last two cases are only my conjectures, on the analogy of the presence of unmistakable Malayālam words, to explain what is otherwise inexplicable. In the case of *Pucchānti*, an emendation into *pacchānti* is suggested, but Dr. V. S. Sukthankar<sup>2</sup> says that the meaning is clear and that no emendation is needed. It is a pity Dr. Sukthankar does not say how the word is to be explained.

The presence of these Malayālam words, references to Malabar and influence of Malayālam on the *Prākṛt* raise some very important questions. It is suggested that the researches of Morgenstierne and his pamphlet "Das Verhältniss zwischen *Cārudatta* und *Mṛcchakaṭika*" has once for all established the fact that the *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.<sup>3</sup> It may be so. But is it this same, or some other recension of the *Cārudatta*? There are three possibilities :—

1. Bhāsa was a Malabar poet who introduced Malayālam words into his play *Cārudatta* and when Śūdraka expanded it into *Mṛcchakaṭika*, he did not understand these Malayālam words and omitted them.

1. Malayālam English Dictionary by Rev. H. Gundert, Mangalore, 1872, p. 672 under *puccha*. He takes the word as derived from *puccha* = tail.

2. J.B.B.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 113, 114. He refers to a journal which I could not get at

3. J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 81; 1923, p. 601. B.S.O.S., 1924, p. 295.

2. Bhāsa wrote the Cārudatta and we have only a Malabar recension of it now, into which Malayālam words have crept in. It is the original (which is lost to us) which was enlarged by Śūdraka into Mṛcchakaṭīka.

3. Śūdraka wrote his Mṛcchakaṭīka, and in the Cārudatta we have the first four acts of it in an abridged form with Malayālam words in it.

That Bhāsa is a Malabar poet is an alternative which we need not even take up for consideration. So far as our knowledge of history goes, it is an impossibility that there should have been in Malabar such a great poet as Bhāsa in that early century<sup>1</sup> which is assigned to Bhāsa. That no Malabar poet is quoted by great writers on poetics and that Bhāsa is very often quoted and referred to is an evidence to show that Bhāsa is not a Malabar poet.

We have to choose between the other two alternatives. If we accept the second alternative, there are still some difficulties. The text of the Cārudatta before us is not a mere recension. It is not a mere difference of reading that has crept in when the text was being handed down from generation to generation, not a question of an additional stanza here or there, not such things as constitute a "recension". If we compare the Cārudatta with the Mṛcchakaṭīka, we find in the former a conscious adaptation or an abridgement of the first four acts of the latter (or a drama in four acts of which the latter is an enlargement) to suit the tastes of a particular class of audience, namely, the Malabar audience. A few passages will prove the point. The two passages "Neyyubbha, etc.," "*ahia mahurassa*, etc.," where Malayālam words are used and the word "*nāye*," do not occur in the Mṛcchakaṭīka. They are undoubtedly additions to an original text. In the sentence preceding "*neyyubbha, etc.*," there is the word *kāla* introduced in the Cārudatta

*Mṛcchakaṭīka* : *lohakaḍāhapariattaṇakasaṇasārā kidavisesā via. juadī  
ahiadaram sohadi bhūmī.*<sup>2</sup>

*Cārudatta* : *lohīparivaṭṭaṇa kāla sārā bhūmī.*

The passage in the Mṛcchakaṭīka means :—"The ground is extremely pleasing like a young girl with a mark on the forehead, as there are the black marks on the ground left by the rolling of cooking utensils made of metal." In the Cārudatta, the word *kaṣaṇa* (Skt. *kṛṣṇa* black) is replaced by *kāla* (also black). The Cārudatta passage means :—"The ground is pleasing on account of the black mark caused by rolling the metal vessels for cooking." Also it can mean :—"The ground is pleasing on account of *kāla*

1. Second or third century A. D.

2. Mṛ. p. 7.

spots dropped by stirring the metal vessels." *Kāḷa* (*kāḷan*) is a kind of preparation which is a great delicacy in Malabar and which is an inevitable dish in all feasts. Here we find a pun on the word *kāḷa* in the *Cārudatta*. The change from *kṛṣṇa* to *kāḷa* is consciously and deliberately made for pun to interest a Malabar audience. The passage previous to this in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is:—*āmitaṇḍulodaappavāhā racchā*. The meaning is:—"The rice water flows far into the street", thereby suggesting that much rice is cooked for a feast. In Malabar there are no street-houses; there are only garden-houses and such a description will not appeal to a Malabar audience. So the passage is omitted in *Cārudatta*. The stanza

*Kim bhīmaśeṇe jamadaggiputte*

in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*<sup>1</sup> is changed in the *Cārudatta* into

*Kim vāśuṇe śivapattaneṣe* (reading mine).

This is to introduce the name of Trichur town, which is familiar to Malabar people. The word *pucchiānti* is introduced in the *Cārudatta* and is used in a sense now perserved only in Malayālam. *Tālipattam kḵhu edam*.<sup>2</sup> It is a common custom in Malabar to wear rolls of palm leaf as an ear-ornament. The passage is not in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Cārudatta*'s wife is styled *Vadhūh*.<sup>3</sup> But in the *Cārudatta* it is changed into *Brāhmaṇī*.<sup>4</sup> *Brāhmaṇī* does not mean a Brāhmin woman, but it is the name by which the women of a particular caste (semi-Brāhman caste) in Malabar are called. Brāhmins keep these women as their wives, without religious sanction or legal commitment,<sup>5</sup> a custom quite prevalent in Malabar. It is this idea that is conveyed by the term *Brāhmaṇī* in the *Cārudatta*. It is only the presence of Malayālam words in the *Cārudatta* that proves positively the influence of a Malabar hand in the text. The other instances, taken along with sure Malabar influences, can also be taken as the result of the working of a Malabar hand for a definite purpose. The *Cārudatta* of the Trivandrum Series cannot be the original *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa (if there was such a thing); nor is it "a mere recension" of Malabar. It is a deliberate adaptation of an original.

Now this is the situation: we have a drama the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in ten acts. An abridged form of the first four Acts of it with a number of additional passages (*all* of which show a Malabar influence) is found in Malabar.

1. Mr. P. 34.

2. C. p. 23.

3. Mr. p. 156 ff.

4. C. P. 62 ff.

5. The Cochin Tribes and castes by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras 1912.



This Malabar text cannot be an original text. It must be an adaptation of an original work by Bhāsa (which has not yet been discovered) or it may be a condensation and adaptation from the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Which of these two alternatives is the more probable? Until we are able to find out a short text by Bhāsa, of which the Trivandrum edition could be an adaptation or until we are at least sure that Bhāsa *has* written a short drama called *Cārudatta*, the probability is that the Trivandrum edition of the *Cārudatta* is a condensation and adaptation from Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*, by a Malabar hand for use in Malabar theatres. Morgenstierne's arguments about the relation of the *Cārudatta* to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* need revision. That he has not consulted any Malabar recension of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is a serious omission. We know that South Indian recensions are considerably different from North Indian recensions. I should think it is a very unscientific process to compare a Malabar edition of a shorter form with a North Indian edition of the enlarged form and to draw conclusions.

To know whether the *Cārudatta* is an abridgement of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* or whether the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is an enlargement of the *Cārudatta*, we have to compare them with similar works. The most suitable work with which we can compare the *Cārudatta* is the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. One of the most regrettable events in the history of researches into Sanskrit literature in recent times is the publication of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* from Trivandrum, and twelve other dramas published subsequently, under the name of Bhāsa's works. The publication was executed by an editor utterly incompetent for the task. If the manuscripts had been placed in the hands of a competent scholar, such a Bhāsa theory would not have been started. The then Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series maintained to his own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of a few others (of whom A.B. Keith is the most prominent) <sup>1</sup> that Bhāsa should have been the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and also of the other twelve dramas. There is not a grain of evidence for the theory. Then the promoters of the Bhāsa theory ask others to disprove their theory or to accept it—a very unjudicial position.

When a scholar ascribes a work to a particular author, it is his business to prove the point: it is not enough if there are no positive objections to his theory. It is necessary that there should be positive proofs in support of it.<sup>2</sup> If a work is mentioned expressly as written by a particular author, then we accept it as the work of that author, as *Abhijñānaśākuntala* or *Nāgānanda*. If a work is known through tradition, even though there is no

1. B. S. O. S. 1924, p. 297.

2. Z. f. I. u. I.



such express mention, as written by a particular author, then also we accept that work as written by that author, as the Raghuvamśa. If passages definitely known to have been written by a particular author are found in a work, that work is to be recognised as the work of that author. None of these three tests is applicable to the Svapnavāsavadatta or any other work now attributed to Bhāsa. There is no mention of the author in the dramas, and there is no tradition that any of these works belongs to Bhāsa. No stanza from any of these works is known as belonging to Bhāsa and no stanza known to belong to Bhāsa is seen in any of these works. If we find mention in literature that a particular author has written a work of a particular name, and if we come across a work of that name, we can ascribe that work to that author if there is no proof to the contrary, even though there is no tradition or any other evidence that it is that particular work that is written by that author, and no other of a similar name. If we come across in literature mention of certain literary and other features as peculiar to an author and if we come across a work bearing such peculiar features, then also we can ascribe that work to that author. The advocates of the Bhāsa theory rely on these two tests to establish Bhāsa as the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta. Let us examine the way in which these two tests are applied.

Rājaśekhara in his Sūktimuktāvali has this stanza :—

*Bhāsanūṭakacakre tu chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum ;*

*Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako' bhūn na pāvakah.*

This is a stanza of questionable authority and doubtful interpretation. Before the Bhāsa theory cropped up and this stanza assumed such an important role in the history of Sanskrit Literature, I understood the stanza in quite a different way:—"In the group of Bhāsa's dramas (*bhāsanūṭakacakre*) when thrown as a test (*chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum*) the fire (*pāvakah*) did not burn the Svapnavāsavadatta (*Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhakah na abhūt*)." Bhāsa was a great author and his dramas contained conflagration scenes. These fires burnt all the other dramas (on account of the cleverness with which such scenes were handled, these dramas excelled all other dramas), but Svapnavāsavadatta alone remained safe. This is how I understood the stanza. According to this interpretation the Svapnavāsavadatta was a rival drama to Bhāsa. The authority of the stanza is also very questionable. Previous to this stanza, Rājaśekhara says that Bhāsa is the author of Nāgānanda, Priyadarśikā and Ratnāvali, which are expressly mentioned in the prologues as works of Harṣa. So Rājaśekhara's state-

ment about Bhāsa being the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta proves nothing and no scholar shall draw any conclusion from such a statement.

But Prof. Sylvain Levi in the *Journal Asiatique*<sup>1</sup> reports two works on *Alaṅkāra*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*<sup>2</sup> and *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnaśā*.<sup>3</sup> In N.D. there is an express mention (J. A., 1923, p. 197, n. 1) that Bhāsa wrote a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. Mr. A. P. B. Sastri says<sup>4</sup> that Abhinavagupta mentions Svapnavāsavadatta as the work of Bhāsa. There is a slight inaccuracy in this statement: Abhinavagupta *does not* mention Svapnavāsavadatta as the work of Bhāsa; he simply refers to a work Svapnavāsavadatta without mentioning the author. But from the reference in N.D. it is certain that Bhāsa wrote a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. We have in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series a drama of that name, but without any mention of its author. Can this Svapnavāsavadatta be the work of Bhāsa referred to in N. D.? In the natural course of things, we can say that this Svapnavāsavadatta must be the work of Bhāsa; only there should be nothing to make the identification even doubtful. But the evidences against such an identification are overwhelming.

Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* mentions certain features as peculiar to Bhāsa in the following stanza.—

*Sūtradhāarakṛtārambhair nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ  
Sapātākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva.*

L. D. Barnett has suggested<sup>5</sup> that both this Svapnavāsavadatta and the other thirteen dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and also the well-known classical dramas could be called *Sūtradhāarakṛtārambha*. I have myself developed the point elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> In that place I have shown that none of the features mentioned by Bāṇa is seen in any of the thirteen dramas ascribed to Bhāsa. Dr. Sukthankar has dealt with the point regarding *Sūtradhāarakṛtārambha*.<sup>7</sup> He concludes rightly that none of the Trivandrum group bears this feature; unfortunately he does not see in the statement of Bāṇa any special feature of Bhāsa.<sup>8</sup> Although the three features

1. J. A. 1923, p. 193 ff.

2. *Ibid.* designated N. D.

3. *Ibid.*

4. J. R. A. S., 1921, p. 378.

5. J. R. A. S., 1921, p. 587.

6. Z. f. I. u. L., 1923, pp. 252-66

7. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 129 ff.

8. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 130, 131.—“It cannot any longer be maintained that Bāṇa had the intention of drawing attention to any distinguishing characteristic of Bhāsa's works by

mentioned by Bāṇa may not be peculiar to Bhāsa, still we must assume that Bhāsa's dramas bore those features. Else Bāṇa's statement becomes meaningless. A. B. Keith seems to think<sup>1</sup> that in ordinary dramas like the *Śākuntala*, *Nāndī* is a part of the drama, and that the *Sūtradhāra* enters after *Nāndī*, but that in Bhāsa the *Nāndī* is not a part of the drama and the drama opens with the entry of the *Sūtradhāra*. As a matter of fact in no drama is *Nāndī* a part of it, and *Nāndī* is not the recitation of a stanza. In Kālidāsa, the opening stanza is only a benedictory stanza, and it is recited when the *Sūtradhāra* enters the stage.<sup>2</sup> There is so much written about the simplification of the prologue by combining the duties of the *Nāndīsūtradhāra* and the *Sthāpanāsūtradhāra*.<sup>3</sup> Most of those who write on the technique of acting Sanskrit dramas may not have seen a Sanskrit drama on the stage, nor even a stage. It is the same actor who first comes as *Nāndīsūtradhāra*, then as *Sthāpanāsūtradhāra*, and then as one of the characters of the play. He does not change his costume. He appears in all these different roles in the same costume, the same paint and the same head-gear. From the *Daśarūpaka*<sup>4</sup> it would appear that the *sthāpanāsūtradhāra* is different from (*aparaḥ*) *nāndīsūtradhāra*. But the same stanza appears in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*<sup>5</sup> where the reading is not *aparaḥ*. In Bharata it is stated<sup>6</sup> that the *Sūtradhāra* should retire and the *sthāpaka* should enter with the same feature and the same costume as the *sūtradhāra* (*sūtradhāraguṇākṛtiḥ*). As acted in the theatres, the same actor re-enters in the same costume. The purely Malabar drama called *Kathakalī*<sup>7</sup> which is based on the staging of Sanskrit drama by *Cākyars* (professional actors of Malabar), three actors

saying that his works were *Sūtradhārakṛtīrāmbha*. Bāṇa's only object is, as Keith (*Sanskrit Drama*, p. 91) has justly remarked, 'to celebrate Bhāsa's fame and to show his wit by the comparison in the same words with some not very obvious object of comparison.'

1. B.S.O.S., 1924, p. 297. "Bhāsa's dramas not merely commence with the entry of the *Sūtradhāra* after a *nāndī*, not treated as part of the play, has been pronounced."

2. *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Gaekwar's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI, p. 250, lines 4 and 5.

3. J.R.A.S., 1921, p. 369, B.S.O.S., 1923, p. 113, n.

4. *Daśarūpaka*, pariccheda 3, stanza 2 :

*pūrvavarāṅgam vidhāyātau sūtradhāre vinirgate ; praviśya tadvat aparaḥ kāvyam āsthāpayen nāṭaḥ.*

5. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, pariccheda 6, stanza 26. The reading is :

*praviśya sthāpakas tadvat kāvyam āsthāpayeti tāḥ.*

6. *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Gaekwar's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI, p. 149, l. 12 f. *Kāvyamāla*,

v. 149, 150.

7. *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras, 1912, Vol. II.

8. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 233 (*Rāmanāṭam*)—a very poor contribution.

enter in the beginning, one of whom is the *Sūtradhāra* and the other two are *Pūriṭpārśvakas*. After *Pūrvaraṅga* he retires; then he re-enters as *sthāpaka*. The terms in Malayālam are *toṭayam*, *purappādu*, etc. Bhāsa has not introduced any reform as suggested by A. P. B. Sastri. The *sūtradhāra* has to recite *nāndī ślokas* which are the same for all dramas in the same theatre or among the same school of actors. The dramatist does not write these ślokas. They must bear certain special features.<sup>1</sup> They form part of the *Pūrvaraṅga*. The mode of writing *nāndyante sūtradhārah*<sup>2</sup> after the *māṅgaḷa* or *nāndyante tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhārah* before it, has nothing to do with any technique of Sanskrit dramas. It is only a difference in the method of writing. Dr. Sukthankar has noted certain very interesting points which require more detailed consideration.

In the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and in most of the Malabar dramas (there are some exceptions in Malabar also)<sup>3</sup> we have in the beginning *nāndyante tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhārah*. In other dramas we have the *māṅgaḷa* and then *nāndyante sūtradhārah*. In the second class of books there is no mention that *sūtradhāra* enters after the *māṅgaḷa* is recited. In both classes, the *sūtradhāra* is on the stage when the drama begins. Who recites the *māṅgaḷa*? Evidently, in both the groups it is the actors when the *sūtradhāra* enters.<sup>4</sup> The *sūtradhāra* simply shows the *mudras* in accompaniment of the recitation of the ślokas.<sup>5</sup> He himself repeats only prose passages. In all the dramas, when the *sūtradhāra* retires, he re-enters as *sthāpanāsūtradhāra* and the dramatist writes only such portions as are to be used after this entry of the *sūtradhāra*.<sup>6</sup>

A difference in the mode of writing, for the simple explanation of which we have the authority of such a great *āṅkārīka* as Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,<sup>7</sup> was completely distorted,

1. Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāvya-mālā iv, 98.

2. Some printed books have—*nāndyante tataḥ praviṣati sūtradhārah*. No South Indian MSS. that I have looked into has this reading. Cf. The Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 129, 130.

3. Cf. Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, D. C. S. 12509, 12511.

4. *Etat sūtradhārādi kriyamāṇam māṅgaḷam*. Commentary on *Sāhityadarpaṇa* vi. 25 Nīrṇaya Sāgara Ed., 1910.

5. Cochin Tribes and Castes, by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, Madras, 1912, Vol. II, p. 132.

6. *Rāṅgadvāramārabhyakaviḥ kuryāt Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. 25.

7. *Ata eva prāktaneṣu pustakeṣu nāndyante sūtradhārah ityanantaram eva vedāntaṣu ityādi ślokalikhanam dr̥ṣyate, yacca paścāt nāndyante sūtradhārah itī tikhanam tasyāyam*



ignoring the authority"; Bāṇa's statement about Bhāsa was partly ignored (the 2nd and 3rd features) and partly distorted; then a whole theory of Bhāsa was built up. Is it likely that the then editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series did not see the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*? I again assert, as I did once that *Sūtradhāra*kṛtārambha means a drama in which the *Sūtradhāra* plays a part in the main story, as in the *Uttararāmacarita*. Bāṇa's description of Bhāsa's plays is a strong evidence against assuming Bhāsa as the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Then, are we to assume more than one *Svapnavāsavadatta*? Let us state all the facts that we know of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and Bhāsa.

1. Rājaśekhara mentions Bhāsa as the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
2. Bāṇa gives certain features of Bhāsa's dramas.
3. Bhāsa has written a *Svapnavāsavadatta* according to N. D.
4. Abhinavagupta quotes a stanza from a *Svapnavāsavadatta*.<sup>2</sup>
5. Abhinavagupta gives a feature of a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in his *Abhinavabhāratī*.<sup>3</sup>
6. The *Nāṭakadarpaṇa* quotes a stanza from Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
7. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* quotes a portion of the prologue of a *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
8. Sarvānanda refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in his *Tikāsarvasva* on *Amarakośa*.<sup>4</sup>
9. Śāradātanaya refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.<sup>5</sup>
10. Bhoja refers to a *Svapnavāsavadatta* in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.<sup>6</sup>
11. Vāmana in his *Kāvya-lāṅkāra Sūtra Vṛtti*<sup>7</sup> quotes a stanza found in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, and another<sup>8</sup> which appears both in the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.
12. The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* quotes a stanza from the *Cārudatta*.<sup>9</sup>

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*abhiprāyaḥ, nandiyante sūtradhāra idam prayojitavān, itaḥ prabhṛti mayā nāṭakam upādīyate iti kaver abhiprāyaḥ sūcita iti.*

1. Z. f. I. u. I., 1923, p. 254.
2. Dhvanyālokalocana. Kāvya-mālā, p. 152.
3. Nāṭyaśāstra. Gaekwar's Oriental Series, No. XXXVI, p. 39.
4. T. S. S., No. XXXVIII, p. 147 S v. Introduction, p. xxii.
5. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 669.
7. IV. 3, 25.
8. V. 1, 3.
9. J. A., 1923, p. 216.

These are the main points we have to consider in connection with the Bhāsa-problem. The first eleven points have direct reference to the Svapnavāsavadatta. Let us examine them and see if they support or stand in the way of the assumption that Bhāsa is the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

1. Rājaśekhara : I have dealt with the point already and I have shown that his statement is of doubtful interpretation and questionable authority.

2. Bāṇa : None of the features stated by Bāṇa as belonging to Bhāsa is found in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

3. Nāṭakadarpaṇa : It is certain that Bhāsa has written a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta, and the presumption ought to be that the drama Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is that drama. But there are difficulties. Bāṇa's evidence is against it and other difficulties will be shown presently.

4. Abhinavagupta in the Locana : The stanza reads :—

*Sañcitapakṣmakavāṭam nayanadvārāṃ śarīratadanena ;*

*Udghāṭya sū praviṣṭā hrdayagrham me nr̥patanūjā.*

The editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series makes the following remark<sup>1</sup> on this stanza in his introduction to the Svapnavāsavadatta :—" But I should think that this *śloka* is not from the Svapnavāsavadatta, for it is found in none of the three manuscripts of ours. Besides, this *śloka* apparently signifies the springing up of love for a lady at first sight.<sup>2</sup> It should be either for Vāsavadattā or Padmāvati. But it could not be for the former, for the troubled thoughts of a lover for his far-off lady appear in this *nāṭaka* only long after a happy wedded life;<sup>3</sup> nor could it be for the latter, for, she was offered to Vatsarāja even without his request at a time when he was much afflicted with thoughts of Vāsavadattā. This surely could not be the occasion for describing his love for Padmāvati. It is thus seen that this *śloka* could not find a place in the Svapnavāsavadatta. Hence, we could not infer that this was an omission in the readings of some manuscripts owing to the *nāṭaka* having ceased from circulation."<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the above is not quite clear. I have elsewhere<sup>5</sup> suggested that in this stanza there is a reference to Vāsavadattā. My statement needs some slight revision and amplification and

1. Sv. Introduction, p. xxiii, f.

2. It means nothing of the sort.

3. The English translation of the original Sanskrit introduction is wrong and hence this mistake.

4. Difficult to draw the conclusion from the premises.

5. Z. f. I. u. I., 1923, p. 257.



I shall do it below. A. K. Pisharoṭi and K. R. Pisharoṭi in a joined contribution<sup>1</sup> say :—"The Svapnavāsavadatta of the T. B. series may also be such an adaptation of the original Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa. This would explain the absence from the Svapnavāsavadatta of the T.B. series of a verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from Bhāsa's original." There is a slight inaccuracy or (to put it more mildly) a slightly misleading statement in this observation. Abhinavagupta does not quote from "Bhasa's original" but only from a certain Svapnavāsavadatta. Perhaps the Pisharoṭis meant only this much. To this the Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series adds a rejoinder<sup>2</sup> :—"We ask—is this so-called original Svapnavāsavadatta of the same story and plot as the present Svapnavāsavadatta or of a different story and plot, describing mainly the marriage of Vāsavadattā?" He gives his original argument against the first alternative and says that in the second alternative, that cannot be the original of this drama. The argument is quite reasonable. Only his premises are not acceptable. He lower down adds :—"The person who so quoted made a mistake in the name of the work." This is attributing a mistake to Abhinavagupta, which Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri says<sup>3</sup> "is apt to be felt by some as nothing short of impertinence." Although in anthologies we see quotations whose sources as given in the anthologies, may not be quite reliable<sup>4</sup>, no such mistake has hitherto been discovered in works on *Alaṅkāra* and as such Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri has given the mildest description of the statement by the then editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. About the quotation itself, Prof. Kuppaswami Sastri says,<sup>5</sup> "This verse does not admittedly find any place anywhere in the Svapnavāsavadatta of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series." I am not so certain of it. I will show below that the verse could find a place in the Svapnavāsavadatta, even in the Svapnavāsavadatta of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series.

F. W. Thomas has some interesting statements to make about this stanza. Evidently he has not understood the meaning of the stanza, nor, I fear, the Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. F. W. Thomas says,<sup>6</sup> as regards the verse *sañcitapakṣmakapūṣam* cited in the Dhvanyālokalocana (p. 102) as from the Svapnavāsavadatta, we find it with the obviously correct

1. B. S. O. S., 1923, p. 115.

2. B. S. O. S., 1925, p. 636 f.

3. Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. Bālaṃanorāma Press, Mylapore, 1926, Introduction, p. 24.

4. J. R. A. S., 1921, pp. 381, 382.

5. Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Bālaṃanorāma Press, Mylapore, 1926, p. 24.

6. J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 81, n.

opening *svaṅcita* in Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* p. 21." *Kāvyānuśāsana* is published in the *Kāvyamālā* series, and also Locana. I presume that F. W. Thomas must be referring to this edition of the Locana, as he does so in the case of the *Kāvyānuśāsana*. Then the page number 102 is wrong ; it ought to be 152. He further adds,<sup>1</sup> "as to the verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*-locana I have previously (J. R. A. S. 1922 p. 81 n.) pointed out (what Prof. Levi has not observed) that it should begin with *svaṅcita*. cf. *aṅcitabhṛū*, not with the meaningless *saṅcita*. I agree with Gaṇapati Śāstri that it could not have a place in the Trivandrum play, though it might occur in a work on the lines of the *Tāpasavatsarāja*."<sup>2</sup>

What is the meaning of the verse ? Let us see if the beginning should be *svaṅcita* and for that let us translate the verse omitting that word for the time being. "That princess (*sā nr̥patanūjā*) entered (*pravīṣṭā*) the house, my heart (*me hṛdayagṛham*) breaking open (*udghāṭya*) by hammering with her form or body (*svarūpataḍanena*) the doorway, my eyes (*nayanadvāram*), of which the shutters, my eyelashes were *saṅcita* or *svaṅcita* (*saṅcita*-or *svaṅcītapakṣmakavāṭam*)." Simple common sense tells us that we expect the poet to have described the shutters of the door as closed (*saṅcita*). When the king speaks of his own eyelashes, how can he speak of them as *svaṅcita* (very handsome) ? *Saṅcita* means, "closed".<sup>3</sup>

The king had his eyes closed. The form of the princess forced its way into his heart, although he could not see her with his eyes open. This is a reference to the appearance of *Vāsavadattā* when the king was asleep and this is how he narrates the event to the *Vidūṣaka*. The stanza can very well find a place in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, in the fifth Act on p. 59. The omission of the stanza in all the manuscripts shows that the stanza was left out in the abridgment or adaptation. This stanza is a sure evidence of an abridgment.

5. Abhinavagupta in the *Abhinavabhāratī* : The passage is : *tathā kvacin nāṭake dharmah pradhānam—yathā Chalitārāme<sup>4</sup> rāmasyāśvamedhayāgaḥ. kvacit kṛdā yathā Svapnavāsavadattāyām*. This is in commenting on the stanza,<sup>5</sup>

1. J. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 103, 104.

2. Die Handschriften Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, fünfter Band II, 1892, No. 2166.

3. Monier William's Dictionary and Apte's Dictionary, *sancita* = impeded, obstructed.

4. J. A., 1923, p. 195. Oppert's List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in S. India, Vol. I, 4114 (it is given as *Calitarāma*, perhaps the same work).

5. *Nāṭyaśāstra Kāvyamālā* I, 74. Gaekwar's Oriental Series No. XXXVI, p. 38 the verse number is wrong ?

*Kvacid dharmah kvacit krīḍā kvacid arthah kvacic chamaḥ  
Kvacid dhāsyam kvacid yuddham kvacit kāmah kvacid vadhaḥ.*

The editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series notes this passage in his introduction to the Svapnavāsavadatta.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri observes,<sup>2</sup> "krīḍā or hilarious merriment is the chief feature of the drama Svapnavāsavadatta according to Abhinavagupta. Would not this conclusively establish that the Svapnavāsavadatta known to Abhinavagupta must be materially different from the Trivandrum play of the same name?" I am not so sure as Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri is, that according to Abhinavagupta, "hilarious meriment" is the "chief feature" of the drama Svapnavāsavadatta. What Abhinavagupta means is that *krīḍā* is the *chief incident* in the drama, just as Rāma's *aśvamedhayāga* is the chief incident in the Chalitārāma. The fourth Act in the Svapnavāsavadatta, published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series really describes *krīḍā*.<sup>3</sup> The incident really took place at night, although according to the Trivandrum edition the incident took place by day time. In dealing with Vāmana below, I will show that the incident took place at night. Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā play in the garden. Then the king enters with the Vidūṣaka. In the end Padmāvatī approaches the king. I think it is this incident that is referred to by Abhinavagupta by the term *krīḍā*.<sup>3</sup> Or it may be a reference to the incident in the fifth Act. Padmāvatī is suffering from headache and her bed was arranged in *samudragrha*. The king goes to that place to meet Padmāvatī. By mistake Vāsavadattā goes to the room where the king sleeps and then follows the incident which gives the name *Svapnavāsavadatta* to the drama. So the chief incident in the drama is the king's visit to Padmāvatī for *krīḍā*.<sup>3</sup> This shows that the Svapnavāsavadatta is very intimately connected with the drama known to Abhinavagupta, if it is not identical with it. Further there are many *krīḍā* scenes in the drama. The second act is *kandukakrīḍā*. Śaraḍātanaya's reference to the Svapnavāsavadatta (which will be discussed below) shows that many love scenes are left out in the Trivandrum edition. So Abhinavagupta

1. Sv. Introduction, p. 22.

2. Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, Bālamānoraṁ Press, Mylapore, 1926, p. 26.

3. Note by S. K. Sastri. It is not understood what the author of this paper means by *krīḍā*. What Abhinavagupta means is certainly that *krīḍā* in the sense of *hilarious merriment or sport*, is the *chief feature* or the *pivotal incident* (*pradhāna*) in the plot of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* known to him. *Krīḍā*, in none of its senses known to me, could be taken to be the *pivotal incident* in the plot of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The *sambhoga* and *vipralambha* aspects of *śṛṅgāra*, with reference to Padmāvatī and Vāsavadattā respectively, are deftly combined in the IV and V Acts of this play as published at Trivandrum. In these two Acts of the published edition, it seems to me impossible to regard *krīḍā*, in any of its senses known to me, as the *pivotal point*.

must be referring to a drama quite similar to the one now published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but of which the latter is an abridged form.

6. Nāṭakadarpaṇa : The stanza quoted in N.D. from Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta is :—

*Yathā bhāsaṛṭe svapnavāsavadatte Śephālikāmaṇḍapaśilātalam  
avalokya vatsarājāḥ  
Pādākrāntāni puṣpāṇi soṣma cedam śilātalam ;  
Nūnam kācid ihāsinā mām dr̥ṣṭvā sahasā gatā.*

—(J.A., 1923, p. 197, n. 1)

Prof. Sylvain Levi says<sup>1</sup> that neither the verse nor the incident can find a place in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. This is one extreme view. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar goes to the other extreme. He says,<sup>2</sup> "There is no great 'dislocation' of the elements of the original scene.... All that is needed to restore the text is the replacement of the new verse at the point where there is a hiatus in our version." The text as it is printed, reads :—

Vidūṣakaḥ : *tattahodī padmāvadī iha āacchia niggadā bhave* (Her Ladyship Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away).

Rājā : *katham bhavān jānāti* (How do you know it ?)

Vidūṣakaḥ : *imāṇi avaidakusumāṇi sebhāliāgucchaṇi pekḥhaḍu dāva bhavam* (see these bunches of *sephālikhā* flowers crushed).

Dr. Sukthankar writes :<sup>3</sup> "The king and the jester approach the *śephālikā* harbour just vacated by the ladies. At this point there is a hiatus, all but imperceptible ; standing near the bower the jester abruptly remarks, 'her Ladyship Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away.' We fail to understand why the jester should make this curious unmotivated remark. The missing link is evidently the N.D. stanza, which furnishes the requisite motive for the remark of the jester. The king .... surmises that some lady who had been sitting there .... had hurriedly departed .... The king has no idea who that lady was. But the observation of the king sets the jester thinking, who shrewdly<sup>4</sup> surmises that it must have been Padmāvatī." Let us replace the stanza as Dr. Sukthankar suggests :

King : The flowers are crushed under foot.

This stone-seat is warm ;

Sure some lady was sitting here,

Seeing me is she suddenly gone.

1. J. A., 1923, p. 197.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 137.

3. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 136 f.

4. This shrewdness is out of place. Vidūṣaka has not adduced any more reasons than what the king possesses.



Jester : Her Ladyship Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away.

King : How do you know that ?

Jester : See these bunches of śephālikā flowers crushed.

The jester's argument will be that because there are flowers crushed, the lady must be Padmāvatī, if Dr. Sukthankar's suggestion is accepted. The jester's last statement is, further, only a repetition of the first line in the king's speech. The fact is that there is a dislocation, as Levi suggested. The original scene may have read :

King (approaching the stone-seat in front of the bower with the jester and sitting on it) : Padmāvatī must have come here and gone away.

Jester : How do you know that ?

King : The flowers are crushed under foot,

This stone-seat is warm ;

Sure some lady was sitting here,

Seeing me is she suddenly gone.

There is no hiatus. The statement is not abrupt nor is it unmotivated. What is missing in the Trivandrum edition of the Svapnavāsavadatta is the stage direction that the king sat on the stone-seat. The conversation has also to be re-arranged a little if the new stanza is to be inserted. The king could not have inferred that some one was sitting on the seat from the warmth, unless he expected the seat to be cool. But according to the Trivandrum edition, the seat was exposed to the sun.<sup>1</sup> So the part "This stone-seat is warm" in the stanza was omitted and the rest of the stanza was allotted to the jester. This is the displacement in the Trivandrum edition. This point also shows that the Trivandrum edition is an abridgment of a larger drama.

7. Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa : The passage quoted is :

*nepathye sūtradhāraḥ utsāraṇām śrutvā paṭhati aye katham  
tapovane 'py utsāraṇā (vilokya) katham mantriṇi yaugan-  
dharāyaṇaḥ vatsarājasya rājyaḥ pratyānayanam kartukāmaḥ  
padmāvatīya janenotsāryate.*

(J. A., 1923, p. 217.)

The Trivandrum edition reads :<sup>2</sup>

(*nepathye*)

*ussaraha ussaraha ayyā ussaraha.*

1. *Sarākhālatikkho dussaho ādāvo* Sv. p. 37.

2. Sv. p. 2.

Sūtradhārah : *bhavatu vijñātam*

*Bhṛtyair magadharājasya snigdhaiḥ kanyānugāmibhiḥ ;  
dhr̥ṣṭam utsāryate sarvas tapovanagato janah*

(*niṣkrāntaḥ*)

*sthāpanā  
(praviśya)*

Bhaṭṭa : *ussaraha ussaraha ayyā ussaraha.*

(*tataḥ praviśati parivrājakaśo yaugandharāyaṇaḥ  
āvantikāveśadharinī vāsavadattā ca*)

Yaugandharāyaṇaḥ : (*karmaṇ datva*), *katham ihāpy utsāryate.*

The incident is the same in both. There is a slight verbal similarity also. It is quite likely that one is an adaptation from the other. According to the quotation given in Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa, it is possible that the *sūtradhāra*, instead of merely announcing the character to enter, is describing the situation as a contemporary of the incidents of the drama, in which case the drama is also *sūtradhārakṛtārāmbha*. Thus, this point also suggests that the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is the result of some modification of an original drama.

Sarvānanda : The passage in Sarvānanda's *Ṭikāsarvasva* is :—

*Trividhaḥ śṛṅgāro dharmārthakāmabhinnah. Tatṛādyo yathā  
nandayantyām<sup>1</sup> brāhmaṇabhojanam, dvitīyaḥ svadīśam ātmasāt  
kartum Udayanasya Padmāvatīpariṇayo 'rthaśṛṅgārah, tṛtīyas  
Svapnavāsavadatte tasyaiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmā-  
śṛṅgārah.*

According to this, the Svapnavāsavadatta contains the incident of the marriage of Udayana with Vāsavadattā—an incident which is not found in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Further it is not said that the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī is in that drama, as is the case of the Trivandrum edition. So the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series changes the passage thus in his edition <sup>2</sup> :—

*Udayanasya Padmāvatīpariṇayo 'rthaśṛṅgārah Svapnavāsavadatte,  
tṛtīyas tasyaiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmāśṛṅgārah.*

The editor has used seven manuscripts<sup>3</sup> for the publication of the *Ṭikāsarvasva* and not one of them warrants such an emendation. There are some manuscripts of the text in the Adyar Library<sup>4</sup> collections. In one of

1. Perhaps a drama. Cf. T. S., S. XXXVIII. List of works quoted in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* p. 2.

2. T. S. S., XXXVIII, p. 147.

3. T. S. S., XXXVIII, Preface, p. ii.

4. Adyar Library, 8 H. 18 ; 21 G. 2 ; 21 G. 3 ; 40-A. 14. Catalogue, still in the press.



them, the commentary on the stanza *srīṅgaravīra*, etc., is left out. The passage quoted above is from that portion of the *Tīkāsarvasva*. In the others there is only the statement that *srīṅgara* is of three kinds. No instances are given. Thus the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has no authority for the change. There is no need for it either, except that the passage does not fit in with his theory about *Bhāsa*. It is his version of the *Tīkāsarvasva* and not *Sarvānanda's* passage that is quoted by him in his introduction to the *Svapnavāsavadatta*—a very unscientific procedure. The only conclusion possible from *Sarvānanda's* statement is that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* known to him contained the marriage of *Vāsavadattā* and *Udayana*. It may be that the drama contained more than six Acts (which alone are published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and that with considerable alterations and curtailments). *Udayana* eloped with *Vāsavadattā* from her father's house. Their marriage was solemnised by her parents by means of their portraits in their absence.<sup>2</sup> When the rumour of *Vāsavadattā's* death reached her parents, they sent the same portraits over to *Udayana*.<sup>3</sup> It is quite possible that after *Padmāvatī's* marriage, *Vāsavadattā's* marriage was also solemnised in the proper way, and that incident may have formed the concluding portion of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. If *Sarvānanda's* statement suggests anything, it is that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is a part of a bigger drama of the same name.

9. *Śaradātanaya* : The passage from *Śaradātanaya's* *Bhāvaprakāśa* has been published by the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>4</sup> It has also been published by *K. Rama Pisharoṭi* in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.<sup>5</sup> The chief points are :

(a) *ācchidya bhūpāt samyak sā devī māgadhiḥkare nyastā...*

This incident is found in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.<sup>6</sup>

(b) *Padmāvatyā mukham vīkṣya viśeṣakavibhūṣitam ;  
jīvatyāvantikety etaj jñānam bhūmibhujah... 7.*

1. *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, T. S. S. XVI Act IV.

2. *Ibid* p. 72 ; Sv. p. 70.

3. Sv. p. 70.

4. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.

5. B. S. O. S., 1925, p. 639.

6. Sv. Act I.

7. *Bhūmibhujā* in J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668. The reading here is as in B. S. O. S., 1925, p. 639.

This incident is not found in the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. When the text was originally printed, Śāradātanaya's book was not known. When the passage was, some years after, brought to the notice of the editor, he tried to explain the difficulty and he says that the point is satisfactorily explained.<sup>1</sup> With all the cleverness and ingenuity that may be shown, the fact remains that the incident is not found in the published Svapnavāsavadatta.

(c) *Utkaṇṭhitena sodvegā....kīrtanam ;  
ehi Vāsavadatteti kva yasītyādi....*

In the published Svapnavāsavadatta, the expressions *ehi Vāsavadatte* and *kva yasī* are not found. It is true that "the king feelingly called for Vāsavadattā and so on",<sup>2</sup> but that was in sleep. What is wanted is that the king, despondent of meeting Vāsavadattā, still knowing she was near him, asks her to return, and not to go away, an incident appropriate after seeing Vāsavadattā when he was asleep, Act V).<sup>3</sup> This portion is not in the published text.

(d) *Sahāvasthitayor (the princess and her vīṇā) ekapṛāptiyānasya gaveśanam.  
darsanasparśanālāpāḥ ;  
ciraprasuptaḥ kāmō me vīṇayā pratibodhitah ;  
tām tu devīm na paśyāmi yasyā ghoṣavati priyā.  
kim te bhūyaḥ priyam kuryām.*

This incident is found in the published Svapnavāsavadatta. The stanza *ciraprasuptaḥ*, etc., occurs in the text. But the passage *kim te bhūyaḥ priyam kuryām* is not in it. Thus (a) and the former part of (d) suggest that the published Svapnavāsavadatta is nearly the same as the text known to Śāradātanaya, but (b), (c) and the last portion of (d) show that there are considerable portions omitted. This point also thus suggests the abridgment of a bigger text into the text now published.<sup>4</sup>

10. Bhoja: The passage has been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>5</sup> "In the drama Svapnavāsavadatta, the king goes to *samudragrha* to see Padmāvatī who was indisposed. Not seeing Padmāvatī there, he slept in the bed prepared for her. He saw Vāsavadattā

1. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 668.

2. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 669.

3. Sv. p. 58.

4. Omission of love scenes referred to above.

5. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 669.

as in a dream, though it was not a dream. He addressed Vāsavadattā in his sleep." This incident is fully described in the fifth Act of the published Svapnavāsavadatta. The editor of the Svapnavāsavadatta, in a hilarious mood, explains : "Had I obtained these before, there would not have been the slightest discussion over my view that Bhāsa was the author of this Svapnavāsavadatta. Luckily my opinion has now been vindicated." L. D. Barnett remarks on the above <sup>2</sup> :—"Obviously, if these works should give the name of the author of the play as Bhāsa, they would be important witnesses in support of his view.... Now in neither of them is Bhāsa mentioned. Has he not omitted something?" The editor of the Svapnavāsavadatta has not presented his case properly. If Bhāsa wrote a Svapnavāsavadatta, and if an authority like Śāradātanaya or Bhoja refers to a Svapnavāsavadatta, then the conclusion is that both are identical; the burden of disproving the point is on the opponent. The published Svapnavāsavadatta agrees in most of the essentials with the Svapnavāsavadatta known to Śāradātanaya and Bhoja. So the published Svapnavāsavadatta is identical or is at least intimately related to Bhāsa's drama of that name. Bhoja's reference shows the intimate relation between, if not the identity of, the two dramas.

11. Vāmana : The stanza quoted by Vāmana is :—

*Śaraccandrāmśugaureṇa vātāviddhena bhāmini ;  
Kāśaṇṣpalavenedam sāsruṇṣātam mukham kṛtam.*

This stanza occurs in the published Svapnavāsavadatta. The reading is :—

*Śaraccaśāṅkagaureṇa vātāviddhena bhāmini ;  
Kāśaṇṣpalavenedam sāsruṇṣātam mukham mama.*

The reading as given in Vāmana is significant. The commentator, Śrī Gopendra Tipṭa Bhūpāla, <sup>3</sup> says : *Candrāmśugaureṇety anena candrikāyām kāśaṇṣpalavasyāvivecanīyatā sūcitā.* <sup>4</sup> This shows that the incidents of the scene are on a moonlight night. But in the published text the incident takes place by day time, as is evident from the Viḍūṣaka's statement : *Saraakālatikkho dussaho ādavo.* (The summer sun is unbearable). This shows that the text has been altered slightly.

The second half of point (11) and point (12) I will take up for discussion later on.

Of these eleven points, the first is useless for deciding any question connected with Bhāsa. The second point shows that the Svapnavāsavadatta

1. J. A. R. S., 1924, p. 669.

2. J. R. A. S., 1925, p. 99.

3. Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtravṛtti with commentary, B. S. S.

Kāvyaśāṅkārāsūtravṛtti with commentary, B. S. S. 1v-3-25; p. 145.

published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series cannot be, as it is, by Bhāsa. The third point proves definitely that Bhāsa has written a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta. Points 4-9 and 11 (first half) show that a drama by name Svapnavāsavadatta was known to scholars in ancient India, which was not much different from the Svapnavāsavadatta published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but which was not identical with it, which may be the original of which the published text may be an abridgement. Point 10 shows that the fifth act of the published Svapnavāsavadatta is probably identical with the drama of that name known to Bhoja.

This is the position. There is the text of a Svapnavāsavadatta published now. A text of that name was known in ancient times. There is nothing to show that there were two Svapnavāsavadatta dramas. All the evidences show that the drama known in ancient times was not much different from the text now published, but was not, at the same time, quite identical with it. So the conclusion is that the one is an adaptation from the other. Since many references given in ancient texts are missing in the now published Svapnavāsavadatta, and since it is also found that all such references could have a place in this same published text in an enlarged (its original) form, the natural conclusion is that the text as published now is an abridgment of a bigger drama. As Bhāsa has written a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta, and as the published text cannot be quite identical with that drama, Bhāsa's drama must have been abridged and altered for purposes of stage production. It is this stage adaptation that we have in the printed text.

Although in philosophical and scientific works we see the same name for different texts,<sup>1</sup> it is not quite common in pure literature. If the same name is given for different works in literature, only one of them was well-known, others were obscure, as in the case of the Kumārasambhava,<sup>2</sup> Subhadrādhanañjaya,<sup>3</sup> etc. So long as we have no proof to the contrary, we must conclude that there is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that was the work of Bhāsa, especially when the evidences, to show that all references to Svapnavāsavadatta in ancient works are to the same text, are quite convincing. K. Rama Pisharoti's contention<sup>4</sup> that the shorter names Vāsavadatta and Svapnanāṭaka given to the printed text is to distinguish it

1. Nyāyasūdhā, Siddhānta Dipikā, etc.

2. Winternitz Geschichte der Indischen Literature, Bd. III, p. 58-n.

3. Adyar Library. Subhadrādhanañjaya by Garurāmakavi and Kulāśekhara Varma (Cat. in the press). D. C. S. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Vol. XXI, Nos. 12723 to 12726.

4. B. S. O. S. 1923, p. 108.



from the original bigger drama of the full name of Svapnavāsavadatta, is carrying the critical faculty too far, to say nothing of a misstatement of facts: in some manuscripts the printed text is known by the full name.<sup>1</sup> Further the Śakuntala, Dhanañjaya, Saṃvaraṇa and Cūḍāmaṇi are not the names of abridgements of Abhijñānaśākuntala, Subhadrādhanañjaya. Tapatisaṃvaraṇa and Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. Such a contraction shows only the popularity of the book.

From the above considerations it is almost certain that there is only one Svapnavāsavadatta and that it is by Bhāsa; that the printed text must be an abridgment of the original; that the real work of Bhāsa has yet to be discovered. I have tried to show above that the Cārudatta as published now must be an adaptation from another work, for Malabar stage. The case of Svapnavāsavadatta lends support to that view. Until the contrary is proved (and Morgenstierne has not done so) the only possible conclusion is that the Cārudatta is an abridgement of and adaptation from the Mṛcchakaṭika. In support of such a view, many arguments have already been advanced by other scholars, some of them really unfortunate—arguments, which should not have been brought forward. Such arguments only weaken the position. Such is the case with K. R. Pisharoti's contention<sup>2</sup> that "in the hurry of the adaptation, the adapter has forgotten even to quote or give the usual *Maṅgalaśloka*—something inexcusable in an Indian writer". The more "inexcusable" is such a contention, especially following upon the statement<sup>3</sup> that "the *clever* play-wright has so adapted them as to produce a complete drama" (italics mine), a statement not quite true either. In the Cārudatta, as is printed there is neither a beginning (*maṅgala*) nor an end (*Bharatavākya*). The fourth act does not end the story. The conclusion is abrupt. J. Charpentier says<sup>4</sup> that one act more will make the Cārudatta complete. I will show that there must have been originally more than even five acts in the Cārudatta.

There is the Cārudatta, there is also a Daridrācārudatta. The latter, it is said, has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī.<sup>5</sup> I am not able to trace the reference. The name Daridrācārudatta occurs in N.D.<sup>6</sup> In this work both the Mṛcchakaṭika and the Daridrācārudatta are mentioned

1. Sv. Introduction, p. XXI, D. C. S. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, Vol. XXI, No. 12730.

2. B. S. O. S. 1923, p. 108.

3. B. S. O. S. 1923, p. 108.

4. J. R. A. S. 1923, p. 601.

5. Sv. Introduction, p. XXII; J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 81.

6. J. A. 1923, p. 195.

and this is taken as evidence that they are different works. This is no sure evidence. Mallinātha quotes from the *Vaijayantī* in his commentaries. Sometimes he says *iti Vaijayantī*,<sup>1</sup> sometimes *iti Yādavaḥ*.<sup>2</sup> No one will contend that Mallinātha refers to two different works. He does so even in commenting on the same stanza.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the drama was known by two different names, one based upon the chief incident and the other on the hero and an author may refer to that work by either of the names. That there are two names is no argument for assuming two different works also. The drama called *Pratiññāyugandharāyaṇa* is also known as *Vatsarājacarita*.<sup>4</sup> Suppose there is mention of a work called *Pratiññāyugandharāyaṇa* and another called *Vatsarājacarita*, are we to infer two works or only one?

It may be contended that the *Cārudatta* or the *Daridrācārudatta* had only four (or five) acts, and *Śūdraka* enlarged it into a bigger drama of ten acts and called it *Mṛcchakaṭīka*. In support of this, it is argued that the stanza quoted by *Vāmana*<sup>5</sup> and appearing in both the *Cārudatta*<sup>6</sup> and the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*<sup>7</sup> agrees more (as quoted by *Vāmana*) with the text in the *Cārudatta* than with the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*;<sup>8</sup> the stanza is:—

*Vāmana* : *Yāsām balir bhavati Madgrhadehalīnām* (a)

*Hamsaiś ca sārāsagaṇaiś ca viluṭṭapūrvah* (b)

*Tāsv eva pūrvabalirūḍhayaavāṅkurāsu* (c)

*Bijāñjaliḥ patati kīṭamukhāvalīdhaḥ*. (d)

*Cārudatta* : *Vibhaktapuṣpaḥ* in (b).

*Mṛcchakaṭīka* : *sapadi* in (a) *samprati virūḍhatṛṇa* in (c)

This comparison shows that neither the *Cārudatta* nor the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* entirely agrees with the text in *Vāmana*. We cannot also say that the reading in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* is much farther off from *Vāmana* than the *Cārudatta*. Further we do not know the Malabar reading of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*.

12. *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* quotes a stanza from the *Cārudatta* :—

1. Meghadūta, Com. on *Veṇībhūtapratānusalilā* I-29 (only 3 times in Megh.)

2. In a large number of cases in Megh. Com. on *tām cāvaśyam*, I-9, etc.

3. Megh. Com. on *tatrāvayaktam dṛṣṭi*, I-55.

4. T. S. S. Edition-conclusion; D. C. S. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library

Madras, Vol. XXI, No. 12542.

5. *Kāvyaśālikārasūtravṛtti*, iv, 3-25.

6. C., p. 8.

7. M., p. 19.

8. J. R. A. S. 1923, p. 599.



*Śuṣkadrūmagato ranti ādityābhimukham sthitah ;*

*Kathayaty animittam me vāyaso jñānapañḍitah.*

This stanza is not in the *Cārudatta* that has been printed, for obvious reasons. The stanza must be in the ninth act of the drama. The corresponding portion in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*<sup>1</sup> is composed of two stanzas. I quote only the parallel words.

(a) *Śuṣkavṛkṣasthito dhvāṅkṣa adityābhimukhas tathā*

(b) *Śakunir aparaś cāyam tāvad viranti hi naikaśah*

*Kathayati mahāghoram mṛtyum.*

Sylvain Levi says<sup>2</sup> that the quotation from the *Cārudatta* is opened "*yathā Cārudattah*", which must be a mistake for "*yathā Cārudatte*". The professor concludes<sup>3</sup> that 'the quotation furnished by the Ratnakośa is enough to prove that the *Cārudatta* had developed nearly on lines parallel to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.' I think that it proves something more—that the *Cārudatta* is only another name for the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The difference in the reading is accounted for by the difference in the place from which manuscripts are collected. Sylvain Levi's manuscript of the Ratnakośa is from Nepal. Perhaps a shorter recension of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* may come to light. What is important is that both the *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* have the same number of acts, the same plot, the same characters, the same words; the only difference is that the *Cārudatta* is a shorter recension—there is a curtailment even, in the first four acts (which are printed). The theory that Śūdraka worked upon the four acts (or five acts) of the *Cārudatta* and produced the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is once for all exploded. Now the only possible theory<sup>4</sup> is that there was a drama in ten acts by Bhāsa, called *Cārudatta*, and that Śūdraka added a few more stanzas and called it *Mṛcchakaṭika*. To try to refute such a theory will be like stabbing a dead body. The theory has no life in it. The only possibility is that there was a drama called *Mṛcchakaṭika*, also known as *Cārudatta* or *Daridrācārudatta*. It had a longer and a shorter recension.<sup>5</sup> The printed *Cārudatta* is an abridgement of the first four acts of that drama with many alterations suited for the Malabar stage.

1. *Mṛ.* pp. 392, 393.

1. *J. A.* 1923, 216-n.

3. *J. A.* 1923, p. 217.

4. *J. A.* 1923, p. 217.

5. As in the *Śākuntala*, cf. *Śākuntala*, Oxford 1876. Preface p. vii; Translation in Everyman's Series by Rider.

I am trying to publish the drama *Vināvasavadatta*, the first three acts of which are in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. <sup>1</sup> After its publication I will give my views on the *Pratijñāyangandharāyaṇa*. <sup>2</sup>

My conclusions are :

1. The *Cārudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are the same work. The printed *Cārudatta* is an abridgment and adaptation of that drama (first four acts).
2. There is only one *Svapnavāsavadatta* and that is by Bhāsa. The printed text is an abridgement of the first few acts thereof.

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Note by C. K. R. 1. With reference to the note by S. K. S. on p. 234 the position taken by the writer of this article has to be explained and it will be done on a subsequent occasion.

2. After this article was printed off I read in the J. R. A. S. 1927, p. 605, as follows: "..... the Bhāsa question, which ought, by this time to have passed beyond discussion." If the writer, J. Charpentier means that the authorship of the thirteen dramas has been finally proved, I must apologise to him for poking the question again. I even now doubt if "the Bhāsa question" has been, even as yet, properly set forth.

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1. Report Vol. III, Part I, C. No. 2784.

2. The two dramas are closely related in plot and sentiment



# UPANIṢADIC METRE

## PART II

BY

P. G. GOPALAKRISHNA AIYAR, M.A.,

*Lecturer in English, University College, Rangoon.*

The various combinations of these groups may be graphically displayed by the following Table.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE OF TRIṢṬUBHS & JAGATĪS

	Upa. 7.	Upa. 6.	Upa. 5.	Trb. Upa. 7.	Śā 7.	Vā 7.
— — — — — Upa. 4	1 a	1 c ?		1 f	6 A a	6 B a
— — — — — Upa. 5	1 b	1 d		1 g	6 A b	6 B b
— — — — — Upa. 6			1 e			6 B c
— — — — — Śā. 4	2 a	2 b		2 c	7 A	7 B
— — — — — Vai. 5	3 a	3 b		3 c	8 A	8 B
— — — — — and A	4 a	4 b		4 c	9 A	9 B
— — — — — and B	5 a	5 b		5 c	10 A	10 B

In what follows, a numeral below the line indicates pre-caesural short. Thus '1a,' means — — — — — (post-caesural) short. Of these various types the 'pure' Upajātis account for about a third of the verses; the Śālini-vārtmīs and the Upajāti Śālini's in equal proportions account for another third; a long way behind these three staple

*Note.*—Only the thick types show pre-caesural shorts.

1. For sporadic occurrences of the archaic groups — — — — — (pre-caesural), — — — — — and — — — — — (post-caesural) see the metrical notes that follow. 2b, 3a and 5b, are doubtful. See examples at the end.

types come the Vaiśvadevī verses (that is, verses that open — — — —) accounting for a twelfth; the Śālinī Upajāti's with the short-seconds make up another twelfth—the rest, about a seventh of the whole consist of long and short verses (hypermeter and 'catalectic') and lines with archaic and other metrical groups. These may be called the abnormals.<sup>1</sup> Another broad division may be made of the verses into two—those having Upajāti groups and those having Śālinī-vātormī groups after the caesura. The average percentages for the Upaniṣads, Kaṭha Muṇḍaka and Śveta are 46 and 50 respectively.

Apart from these average figures, a comparison between these three Upaniṣads is not uninteresting.

	Upa.	Śā-vā.	Upa.-end.	Śā-vā. end.
Kaṭha	.. 25	20	45	50
Muṇḍaka	.. 20	20	33	63
Śveta	.. 50	16	60	37

Thus while in the Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka, the Upajātis are only a fourth and a fifth respectively of the total number of verses,<sup>2</sup> they form a full half in the Śveta; the Śālinī-vātormī's are only a third of the Upajāti's in this Upaniṣad. These are signs of a later date<sup>3</sup>; as are also the many 'pure' Upajāti stanzas in it, and a smaller proportion of pre-caesural shorts,<sup>4</sup> of Jagatī verses and abnormal lines; probably also the fact that there are lesser Vātormīs than Śālinīs.<sup>5</sup> The great increase in the number of 12 syllable Triṣṭubhs<sup>6</sup> and a few other not very decisive indications in the M (*vide* the metrical notes further on) may point to a date of composition later than the Kaṭha.

But apart from affording slippery evidence of comparative dates, the Muṇḍaka prosody has features that make it different from the rest. These

1. The percentage figures are as follows: Upajātis 34, Śālinī-vātormī 18, Upajāti-Śālinī 18, Vai. 5 and Upa. 5 and Vai. 5 and Śā-Vā. 3. Śā. and Upa. 5, Short.Secondi 3.

2. All quotations from the Saṁhitās are left out of account.

3. Metrical grounds are probably the least of the reasons for regarding one Upaniṣad as later or earlier than another; in themselves, they ought not to count for much; but as corroboratory or supernumerary testimony they are not beneath notice.

4. The figures for K., M. and Śv. are respectively  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{7}$  and  $\frac{1}{15}$ .

5. The Vātormī which has the upper hand of the Śālinī all through Vedic times, and which was perhaps the earlier of the two gradually lost its place. In classical poetry it is probably not used except as a conscious archaism or as an item in the metrical pyrotechnics of the Mahākāvya poets.

6. The proportions are respectively  $\frac{1}{17}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{10}$ .

are the high proportion of Śālinī-ends (63 as against 50 and 37), the hyper-meters and catalectics with final extras and defects, the occurrence of verses with a post-caesural extra syllable, the very large number of abnormal lines, and last, but not least to the student of historical metre, the experiments and stumblings that point to later developments.

One may also look back on the R̥g-Vedic Prosody<sup>1</sup> and translate the advance in metrical art of the Upaniṣad poets over the Vedic poets into technical language. The following are the more important points that emerge. (It must be stated here that the figures for the R̥g-Veda are based on a metrical analysis of the hymns in Macdonnell's Vedic Reader and therefore open to correction as general statements. But for the purposes of the present comparison they cannot be misleading, since even a wide range of variation will not affect the statements below.

1. Large increase in the number of Upajātis with caesura after the fourth syllable (from less than 2 per cent. to 10 per cent.).
2. Increase in the number of 'pure' Śālinī-vātermī lines (to two-thirds as many more) and of Śālinī-vātermī ends (from 32 to 50 per. cent.) and a corresponding decrease in the total Upajāti ends (from 66 to 46).
3. Virtual disappearance of the Upajāti with the long 6th (post-caesural) and the various combinations with its post-caesural group (vide metrical notes for sporadic occurrences).
4. The great decrease of pre-caesural shorts (from 28 to 9) resulting for one thing in the virtual elimination (or rather due to it) of a number of types of crude rhythm, for instance, those with four or five consecutive shorts in the middle.<sup>2</sup>
5. Large decrease in hiatus (medial as well as final) and split semi-vowels and the virtual disallowance of broken-backed verses of sundry kinds.<sup>3</sup>

i. A comparison with the Prosody of Atharva Veda is bound to be even more instructive.

2. Like परे अवर उभया अभिताः RV. II-12-St ———, ———  
 पृच्छे तदेनो वरुण दिक्षु VII. St-3a. ———  
 यत्स्तोतारं जिघांससि सखायम् do. 4b. ———, ———
3. For instance उप ब्रुव उषसो यज्ञकेतुः RV II 51. 11b ———, ———  
 उपो एमि चिक्विषो विपृच्छम् VII St. 36 ———, ———  
 प्रचक्षयः कृणहि वयसो नः VIII-40 6b ———; ———

But it is to be noticed that the caesural pause in these cases is an emphatic pause so that these shorts do not really represent the same amount of metrical disturbance, which they will in classical prosody.



6. The disappearance of the Dvipadāviraḥ and gradually of the disturbing type with 5 or 4 opening iambs as also the post-caesural group (after 4) — — — — —

7. The great reduction in the number of verses with the Vaiśvadevi opening (from nearly a fifth to less than a twentieth or, counting the twelves, to a twelfth).

8. The diminution of verses with a short second (from 12 to 3).

9. The gradual ascendancy of the Śālinī over the Vātormī. (The former which was only half as numerous as the latter in the Rg-Veda is in the Upaniṣads a fifth as much again).

10. The disuse of the various strophic stanzas, and other schemes of more than four lines, naturally brought about by the change in the subject-matter and the circumstances of recitation.

To these is probably to be added a reversal of the positions of the earlier 'and 'later' caesura (*i. e.*, after 4 and 5) in the matter of frequency. In the Upaniṣads the earlier caesura is appreciably more numerous while in the Vedas it seems to have been the other way about. But an extensive examination is required before a definite statement can be made.

*Equivalence or Resolution.*—The phenomenon of equivalence, whereby two shorts do duty for one long, plays an all-important part in the formation of new classical metres out of the Triṣṭubh. The process which was active as late as the 16th century, as is evidenced by the famous 24 metres of the great Malayālam poet Ezhuttaccan, has already set in in the Upaniṣads. But, as yet, its scope is limited to the resolution of only one syllable in a line, initial or medial.<sup>1</sup>

Now, since the initial syllable is indifferent, an Anuṣṭubh scheme — — — — —, — — — — — (यदिदं किं च जगत्सर्वं) or a Triṣṭubh scheme — — — — —, — — — — — (ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते), may be regarded, not as due to resolution, but to an initial extra short providing a sort of jumping board that gives initial momentum to the verse. Indeed this may have been the origin of the particular form of the hyper-meter; but very soon along with the tendency to standardise the quantity of the initial syllable these opening pyrrhics must have come to be regarded as cases of resolution. Be this as it may, the medial pyrrhics as in — — — — —

1. For a discussion of the Anuṣṭubh hyper-meters ending in भवति (Kāṭha) यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति *etc.*, see Hopkins "Great Epic", p. 259.

— नेदं यदिदमुपासते is a clear case of equivalence. It is to be regretted that the classical poets in their mania for regularity confined the operation of this principle to the formation of new metres and deliberately forbore to explore the prosodic possibilities of modulation of the line within the stanza by resolving a long now and then or by resorting to the other expedients by which the Upaniṣadic poet attained variety.

## HYPERMETERS.

Forty per. cent. of the hypermeters are cases of resolution. The instinct of the Sanskrit poet has always been to avoid the spoiling of the metrical groups by insertion of extra syllables into their body (unless it be a case of resolution). And since the cadence is the most characteristic portion of the verse, final extras are sure to be a disturbance (the Jagatī overflow is a different matter) and are avoided for that reason. The experimenting poet of the Muṇḍaka has however a few instances of the final extra (as well as defect). It must be remembered that an extra syllable after the caesura is prosodically on a par with initial extra.

## LIST OF RESOLUTIONS.

- Kaṭha II 11d त्वां ददृशिवान् मृत्युमुखात्प्रमुक्तं ———, ——— —  
 21b न हि सुविज्ञेयमगुरेष धर्मः ———, ——— —  
 II 6c अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी ———, ——— —  
 IV 2d ध्रुवमध्रुवेष्विह न प्रार्थयन्ते ——— —  
 III 2c अभयं तितीर्षता परं ——— —  
 IV 10d य इह नानेव पश्यति ——— —  
 V 6a हन्त त इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि ——— —  
 VI 2a यदिदं किं च जगत्सर्वम् ——— —  
 7a अन्यत्तात्तु परः पुरुषो ——— —  
 Muṇḍaka II 2 1d यदेतज्जानथ सदसद्वरेण्यम् ——— —  
 III 2d अस्य महिमानमिति वीतशोकः ——— —  
 III 2 8d परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यं ——— —

- II 1 8c सप्त इमे लोका येषु चरन्ति प्राणाः ———, ———, ———  
 Śveta I 2b भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यं ———, ———, ———  
 I 6c पृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा ———, ———  
 7d लीना ब्रह्मणि तत्परा योनिमुक्ताः ———, ———  
 III 9c वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठत्येकः ———, ———  
 Kena I 4d नेदं यदिदमुपासते ———  
 13a इह चेदनेदीदय सत्यमस्ति ———, ———  
 Īśa 12c ततो भूय इव ते तमो ———, ———

## LIST OF HYPERMETERS.

Besides the above the following cases occur.

Kaṭha.

- I 16d सृङ्गां चेमामनेकरूपां गृहाण ———, ———

A very interesting instance of extra before Śālinī 7.

- II 1b ते उभे नानार्थे पुरुषं सिनीतः ———, ———

initial Extra.

- 13d विवृतं सन्ननाचिकेतसं मन्ये ———. ————Final

Extra.

- I This is a doubtful case of final Extra.

- VI 2c य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति (quoted from the Br. Ā. Initial Extra.)

- I 6cd सस्यमिव मर्त्यः पच्यते ——— Initial Extra ?

सस्यमिवाजायते पुनः ——— do.

- IV 15b आसिक्तं तादृगेव भवति ——— Final Extra.

- V 6a य एष सुतेषु जागर्ति ——— Initial Extra.

Mundaka 2b अथर्वा तां पुरीवाचाङ्गिरे ब्रह्मविद्याम्

————— This line is made up of Śā 4 + Śā 4 (with initial and final short + Śā. 7. The point to be noticed here is the duplication of the opening group. If this is a

1. Cf. the classical metre Induvadanā or Varasundari ———— which is the above with resolution of penultimate and final extra

2. The jagati of this will be the classical Rucirā ———

genuine case, it is one of those links that may throw light on the problem of the evolution of the longer metres. The present writer holds, in the absence of a better hypothesis, that this principle of duplication of groups coupled with resolution will explain their derivation. It will be out of place here to dwell at any length on this point but some indication is necessary to make the point clear. Take the Mandākrānta. According to this theory, it will be derived as follows:—

— — — —, { — — — — or — — — — } — — — — —

Śā. 4+ Upa. (or Śā) 4+ Śā 7.

Indeed the example under discussion is just this combination. On this theory again the middle group of the Sragdharā will be the resolved equivalent of Śālinī +. Thus — — — — = — — — — and its opening group will be a welding of Śā 4 and Upajāti 4 losing a syllable in the process. The Śikharinī will resolve into a Vaiśvadevī opening, an Indravajrā 4 and another Indravajrā 4, the whole being introduced by an initial extra short. This opening group — — — — — occurs in these Upaniṣads as the metrical notes will show further on. The very next case provides an instance.

2c स भारद्वाजाय सत्यवाहाय ग्राह = — — — — —, — — — — —

— I. E.

6d तदन्वयं तद्भूतयोनिं परिपश्यन्ति धीराः

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (See 2b above)

This is made up of Upa. 4+Upa. 5+ Vā 7

7b यथा पृथिव्यां ओषधयः संभवन्ति — — — — —, — — — — —.

Another interesting case of an extra (long) before Vā 7

7c यथा सतः पुरुषान्केशलोमानि — — — — —, — — — — — — 1 —

Final extra.

I = 5a एतेषु यच्चरते भ्राजमानेषु — — — — — — 1 — final extra.

6a एह्येहीति तमाहुतयः सुवर्चसः — — — — —, — — — — — Do.

Resolutions—

6c प्रियां वाचमभिवदन्योर्चयन्त्यः — — — — —, — — — — — Resolution.

This is either a case of resolution (of the first syllable of Śā 7) or an extra short before Vā. 7. Either way the group is an interesting parallel to the tribrach Upajāti 7

9b — — — — —, — — — — — A clear case of extra long before Vā 7

4d वय कृतार्था इत्यभिगम्यन्ति बालाः

10d इमं लोकं हीनतरं वा विशन्ति ———, ——— Same

as above.

11d यत्रामृतः स पुरुषो ह्यव्ययात्मा ———, ——— same as 6c.

12 तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् ———, ——— do.

II 4d पद्भ्यां पृथिवी ह्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा ———, ———, ———

The opening group ——— was of occasional occurrence in the Rg-Veda. It had by this time become quite archaic and was perhaps equated to ———. The ह्येष — is an intrusion at the caesura. The poet seems to have spoilt his rhythm in an unsuccessful attempt at joining a formula ह्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा to the stanza.

II 2e तदेतत्सत्यं तदमृतं ———, ——— Initial extra.

6e ओमित्येवं ध्यायथ आत्मानं ———, ——— Initial extras.

III 3d निरञ्जनं परमं साम्यमुपैति ———, ———

An interesting instance of a syllable intruding into the body of a group. This is very near the classical *Mattamayūra* post-caesural group ———, ——— which, in effect, is the Śālinī 7 with the shorts duplicated making the naturally slow movement slower. It may be regarded as a combination of the group ——— (extra long before Vā. 7) and the group in question ———

6d यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं विज्ञानं ———, ——— The scheme

being the same as ———, ———, it is better to regard it as this latter type with the caesura thrown forward than to regain the first syllable as an extra.

8d ततस्तु तं पश्यति निष्कलं ध्यायमानः

———, ———, ———

This historically is Upa, 4 + Śā. 7 with the first three syllables (a गण) of the Śā 7 duplicated or ततस्तु ——— extra three syllables prefixed to Upajāti 4 + Śā 7. Now this last combination with a weakening of

i. of य एतदेवं विद्वानक्षरमुद्रीथमुपास्ते ——— | ———, ——— one of the Chāndogya formulas. (close of I' 7 & 8 and II): which yields the perfect *Mattamayūra* scheme.

the caesural pause will be in effect a tāla metre, practically, repeating as it does the group — — — four times. The Muṇḍaka verse in question extending this rhythm with a similar tilt lengthened out stumbles on Daṇḍaka rhythm in fact.

10b विशुद्धसत्त्वः कामयते यांश्च कामान्

— — — — —, — — — — — Extra after caesura.

*Svetāśvatara*

III 1a य एको जालवानीशते ईशनीभिः — — — — —, — — — — —

Initial extra before the archaic opening group — — — — —

The same archaic group occurs in Muṇḍaka III 1 4a प्राणी ह्येष यः सर्व-  
भूतैर्विभाति — — — — —, — — — — —

2c प्रत्यङ्गनास्तिष्ठति संचुकोपान्तकाले

— — — — —, — — — — — Rather interesting. It may be regarded *either* as an Indravajrā with its last three syllables duplicated — — — — — or — — — — — (say — — — + Upa. 4 precaesural short) + Śālinī 7. Thus the line is a combination of Upajāti and Śālinī rhythm and it may be read so as to yield one or the other rhythm. It is not suggested of course that the poet deliberately made up this complex. He had, like every real poet, the various rhythms running in his head and sometimes as rhythms will, they fused of their own accord giving birth to these such double-faced beauties.

Notes on mixed and other irregular stanzas.

Kaṭha II 14 { A अन्यत्र धर्मादन्यत्राधर्माद् — — — — — Upa. 4 + Vai. 5  
Is this 'Prose- B अन्यत्रास्मात्कृताकृतात् — — — — — Anuṣṭubh  
poetry' C अन्यच्च भूताच्च भव्याच्च — — — — — Upa. 5 + Śā. 4  
D यत्तत्पश्यसि तद्वद् — — — — — Anuṣṭubh

are A and C to be *restored* to अन्यत्र धर्माच्चाधर्मात् — — — — —  
and अन्यत्र भूताद्भव्याच्च — — — — — making a regular Śloka of the whole ?

III 14 This is a famous stanza beginning उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत which is a short Anuṣṭubh — — — — — the defect being made up by the emphatic pause ; b ; is also an Anuṣṭubh c and d Triṣṭubhs.

VI. 2. 3 Anuṣṭubh (a & c being hypermeters) capped 6, a Triṣṭubh formula.



VI 5 यथादर्शं तथात्मनि, यथा स्वप्ने तथा पितृलोके ।

यथाप्सु परीव ददृशे तथा गन्धर्वलोके, छायातपयोरिव ब्रह्मलोके ॥

From the context this seems to be a metrical stanza corrupted, the last pāda being left intact.

Proposed Restoration.

यथादर्शं ददृशे तथात्मनि	} a second Triṣṭubh stanza
यथास्वप्ने पितृलोके तथा च ।	
गन्धर्वलोके ददृशे यथाप्सु	
छायातपयोरिव ब्रह्मलोके ॥	

Perhaps it is only 'prose-poetry.'

VI 17 a is Indravajrā; b is Upa. 5 + and Vā. 7 ; c Anuṣṭubh odd 2nd tri-pula (or lopped Triṣṭubh) ; d dvipadaviraj ; e and f Anuṣṭubh refrain,

I 17 as in the text reads like prose. एषतेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः स्वर्गयो यमवृणी-  
था द्वितीयेन वरेण एतमग्निं तवैव । प्रवक्ष्यन्ति जनासस्तृतीयं वरं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व ॥

Now the context as well as the rhythms suggest that it is corrupt text of an original stanza in metre rather than 'prose-poetry,' (that occurs in the Prose Upaniṣad). The following *restoration* is proposed

एषतेऽग्निर्नचिकेतः स्वर्गयो—सुर्वगेया ———, ————  
यं द्वितीयेनावृणीथा वरेण ।————  
अग्निं तवैतत्प्रवदन्ति एतम् ———, ————  
वरं तृतीयं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व ॥———, ————

———a regular Upaniṣad stanza. जनासः, subject of प्रवक्ष्यन्ति, is omitted. cf II 15 c where the same subject is understood.

II 25 consists of 6 Triṣṭubh ; V 8 Hyp anu (?) + Vātōrmī + 4 anu (Śloka). The first two lines seem to have been originally a Triṣṭubh hemistich.

VI 1 6 Anuṣṭubhs in 3 ardhas.

VI 17 **Mundaka**

I<sup>2</sup> 2 Mixed Stanza 2 Anuṣṭubhs + 2 Triṣṭubhs.

3 Looks like prose. Divide

यस्याग्निहोत्रमदर्शमपौर्णमासं

अचातुर्मास्यमनाग्रयणमतिथिवर्जितं च ।

अहुतमैवैश्वदेवमविधिनाहुतम्

आसप्तमास्तस्य लोकान्हिनस्ति ॥

a. ———. The poet has missed the Vasanta-tilaka (got from the tribrach medial Indaravajrā by duplicating the three syllables—a gaṇa-, after the late caesura) by a hair's breadth, or possibly he has not missed it, if one reads होत्र as होतर prosodically (analogous to Ind<sup>a</sup>ra and Rud<sup>a</sup>ra of R. V.)

b. ———, ———, ———. A loose verse line. The middle group intrudes into Vai. 5+ tr. 6. +. Upa. 7 and is possibly to be equated to ——— in the light of later developments.

c. ——— Repetition of the group ———

d. Upa 4 + Śā 7

This passage is a good example of upaniṣadic prose-poetry or rhythmic prose which is a strong testimony to our doctrine of metrical groups.

II<sup>2</sup> 1 Mixed Stanza. Divide

आविः सन्निहितं गुहाचरन्नाम ———, ———

महत्पदमत्र एतत्समर्पितम् ———, ———

एजत्प्राणनिमिषच्च ———

यदेतज्जानथ सदसद्वरेण्यं ———, ———

परं विज्ञानाद्यद्वरिष्ठं प्रजानाम् ———, ———

a. seems to be Vai. 5 (with 4th syllable resolved) + Upa. 6 opening

2 Also a mixed stanza. Triṣṭubh hemistich + Śloka. A. यदर्विमजदणु-

म्योऽणु च

———, ——— Probably Upa. 4+ catalectic Vatomī with final defect. b Vatomī.

6 Mixed stanza—Śloka + Anuṣṭubh + Triṣṭubh. The irregularities of the pādas in this stanza have been dealt with already.

11 Reads ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्ताद्ब्रह्म ———, ——— | ———

पश्चाद्ब्रह्म दक्षिणश्चोत्तरेण ———, ———

अधश्चोर्ध्वं च प्रसृतं ———, ———

ब्रह्मैवेदं विश्वमिदं वरिष्ठम् ———, ———

The final ब्रह्म in a is extra metrical and c is sadly defective. Why not remove it and tack it on to c where it probably belongs originally? Read अधश्चोर्ध्वं प्रसृतं च ब्रह्म which is Śā 4 (or Upa. 3) + Upa. 6.

II<sup>a</sup> 10 A mixed Stanza. Divide

पुरुष एव इदं विश्वं कर्म ———— 1 —

तपो ब्रह्म परामृतं ————

एतद्यो वेद निहितं गुहायां ————, ————

सो विद्या ग्रन्थि विकिरतीहसोम्य ————, ————

Śvetāśvatara.

III 10 Mixed stanza. Two Anuṣṭubhs + two triṣṭubhs (quoted from Br. Ā.)

IV 13 do Two Anu + Triṣṭ. (quoted from Rg. V.)

VI 10 do

यस्तूर्णनाभ इव तन्तुभिः ————, ———— 10

ग्रधानजैः स्वभावतः ———— 8

देवे एक स्वमावृणोति ———— 9

स नो दधातु ब्रह्मव्ययम् ———— 9

*a* catalectic Upajāti with final defect ; *b* Anuṣṭubh ; *c* and *d* are probably to be restored to

देव एक स्वमावृणोति ब्रह्म ————, ———— Upajāti.

स नो दधातु अव्ययम् ———— Anuṣṭubh.

Corresponding to *a* and *b*

Muṇḍaka II 2 11. (discussed above) shows the same disturbance caused by the misplacing of the same word ब्रह्म.

II 17 The concluding Section of II looks like prose and cannot be arranged into anything like a stanza. But it is poetic prose and splits into rhythmic groups as follows.

*a* यो देवोऽग्नौ योऽप्सु यो विश्वं भुवनमाविवेश

*b* य ओषधीषु यो वनस्पतिषु

तस्मै देवाय नमो नमः

*a* ————, ————

*b* ————, ————

*c* ————, ————

*a* is a Triṣṭubh with duplicated opening.

b Upa. 5+the *Rathoddhatū* opening which is an initially defective opening of the tribrach medial Upajāti.

c. Vai 5 (short end)+Upa. 4 or if the caesura is overlooked, as it well may in this Upaniṣad, it is finally defective Śā. 4+Upa. 6

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Katha I. 9c. नमस्तेऽस्तु ब्रह्मन् स्वस्ति मेऽस्तु. Read सुवस्ति ।

————— Opens with the rhythm of the later Bhujaṅga-prayāta, ends with the normal Triṣṭubh cadence. Historically, the line may be referred to an archaic type ————, + ———— with the caesura thrown backward.

II 1c तयोः प्रेयः आददानस्य साधुर्भवति. Here भवति is extra metrical and may be dropped.

2 c श्रेयो हि धीरोऽतिप्रेयसे वृणीते

— — — — —, — — — — — extra short (or long) after caesura in the old Upajāti with long 6th. The preposition अभि had apparently the privilege of being used in this way Cf. Muṇḍaka I<sup>2</sup>c इमां वाचममि वदन्त्योऽर्चयन्त्यः (already cited).

8a न नरेणावरेण प्रोक्त एष ————, ————, ————. An instance of the old reversal of rhythm after caesura. R V. X—15—10 c आग्ने याहि सहस्रं देववन्दैः ————, ————, ———— This was rare even in the R V. A possible restoration is एष प्रोक्तो न नरेणावरेण — which probably removes the ambiguity of the line (see note 1 p. 347, Hume's Thirteen Principal Upaniṣadas)

9d त्वाद्भुनो भूयान्चिकेतः प्रष्टा ————, ———— long 9th

IV 8a अरण्योर्निहितो जातवेदाः scan ————, ———— (अरणियो)

V 15ab न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकं —, —, ————, ————

नेमा विद्यतो भान्ति कुतोयमग्निः —, ————, ————

Both are hypermetrical with initial extra. *a* is short 2nd B+Upa. 6 j (with faulty caesura, and *b* is in Indravajrā. But it is noticeable that reading सूरियो and न इमा both these lines start off with perfect Anuṣṭubhs. It is one of those instances of fusion of Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh rhythms.

VI 2c It is a question where 2c ends. The obvious way is to end it at उद्यतं, since what follows is a formula,

महद्भय वज्रमुद्यतं ———— Hyp. Anuṣṭubh.

III 13c ज्ञानमात्मनि महति नियच्छेत् —, —, ————

This has a mora rhythm, 4 moras to the foot, the first foot defective. It is not suggested however that the poet had it in mind.

Īśa 2c एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्त ———— Resolution

12c ततो भूय इव ते तमो ———— Resolution

In stanza 8 there is a long 4th pāda याथातथ्यतोऽर्थान्यदधाच्छास्तीभ्यः समाभ्यः  
———, ———, ———— The first two groups are archaic Triṣṭubh openings.

Muṇḍaka I<sup>1</sup> 6a यत्तद् अद्रेष्यमप्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णाम्—यत्तद् is extra metrical and the line is probably to be restored to अद्रेष्यमप्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णाम्

But with the Muṇḍaka poet a restoration is not to be lightly hazarded. He may, for aught one knows, in this instance be indulging in that very rhythm reversal that characterises the Svāgatā type of classical metres. By design or otherwise, he has here almost stumbled on the Svāgatā rhythm in its characteristic final lisp.

Svāgatā ————

I 2 2c तदाज्यभागावन्तरेणाहुतीः ————

Final defect in Śālinī 7. This is important as it probably throws light on the derivation of the post-caesural group of the Śārdūlavikṛīṭa. The present writer holds that the best way of deriving the metre is as follows,

———, ———, ———— (Śā. 7 duplicated)  
———, ———, ———— (catalectic defect)  
———, ————

by dropping the final, throwing back 2nd caesura and releasing the earlier one.<sup>1</sup> The present Muṇḍaka example yields the finally defective Śālinī 7.

2d is a very short line प्रतिपादयेच्छ्रद्धयाहुतम्

——— 2 + Śā. 7. Has something dropped out?

1. Hopkins's suggestion (Great Epic) is arbitrary and confusing.

## 5 तन्नयन्त्येता सूर्यस्य रश्मयो (सूर्यस्य)

—, —, —, —, —, — The archaic long sixth.

## 6b सूर्यस्य रश्मिर्मयजमानं वहन्ति —, —, —, —, —, —

It is as if the poet regarded a metrical group as on all fours with a pāda and used here the Jagatī form of the opening group Upajāti 5.

5e वाचो विमुञ्चयामृतस्यैष सेतुः Is there *yati-bhaṅga*?

## 3d लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरं सोम्य विद्धि is in the same case.

III<sup>1</sup> 4a प्राणी ह्येष यः सर्वभूतैर्विभाति

—, —, —, —, —, — Archaic opening group.

4d एष ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः —, —, —, —, — Initial defect of two syllables.

6a सत्यमेव जयते नानृतं —, —, —, —, — Finally defective Vā. 7.

## 6d यत्र तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं —, —, —, —, —

is best regarded as short 2nd B + trb. Upa. 7 with faulty caesura.

III<sup>2</sup> 6d मुच्यन्ति as passive is a sacrifice to metre ?

II<sup>1</sup> 3cd खंवायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी is to be read as a continuous hemistich. Otherwise scanning becomes unnecessarily awkward with pause after आपः Śvetāśvatara IV—21 is a similar case.

## Śvetāśvatara

## I 6d जुष्टस्ततस्तेनामृतत्वमेति Long 6th Upajāti.

## 9a ज्ञाज्ञौ द्वावजावीशानीशौ Upa. 5 + Śā. 4.

## II 11a नीहारधूमाकानिलानिलानां Long 6th Upajāti

15b दीपोपमेनेह युक्तः प्रपश्येत् —, —, —, —, — is Upa. 4 + Śā. 7 with caesura thrown forward.

III 9b यस्मान्नाणीयो न ज्यायोस्ति कश्चित् (न short before ज्य) is Śālinī with caesura thrown forward.

IV 8a ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन् (वियोमन्) —, —, —, —, — The opening group is archaic



15c यस्मिन्युक्ता ब्रह्मर्षयो देवताश्च In form Vaiśvadēvi with caesura thrown backward. (It is possible to explain otherwise all these cases of faulty caesura.)

V 2b विभाति रूपाणि योनीश सर्वाः ————, ———— Upa. 4 +

Śā. 7 with caesura after 6. The effect is to produce Upajāti rhythm that changes into Śālinī at the 7th syllable——a pleasing variation.

5c सर्वमेतद्विश्वमधितिष्ठत्येको Short 2nd B + trb. Upa. 7 with caesura thrown forward.

6b तद्ब्रह्मा वेदयते ब्रह्मयोनिः Vā. with caesura thrown backward.

11c कर्मानुगान्यनुक्रमेण देही ————, ———— Archaic post-caesural group.

VI 2b ज्ञः कालकालो गुणी सर्वविद्यः ————, ———— Upa. 4 +

Śā. 7 with caesura thrown forward.

9c स कारणं कारणाधिपाधिपो ————, ————

Jagatī of Upa. 4 + Upa. 6 (long 6th ————)

21a तपः प्रसादाद्देवप्रसादात् Dvipadā- Virāj?

21b च ब्रह्म ह्येताश्चतरोऽथ विद्वान् ————, ———— Upa. 5 + Upa. 7 with caesura thrown backward.

22d नापुत्रायाशिष्याय वा पुनः Hyp. Anuṣṭubh with two extra initials.

#### EXAMPLES OF METRICAL TYPES. TRIṢṬUBHS.

1a Upajāti (4)

बहून्पशून्हस्तिहिरण्यमश्वान् K. I 23b

आयम्य तद्भागवतेन चेतसा M. II 2 3c J

1a, Do. with pre-caesural short

सर्वा दिश ऊर्ध्वमधश्च तिर्यक् Śv. V 4a

1b Upajāti 5 + Upa. 7.

नाकस्य पृष्ठे ते सुकृते तु भूत्वा M. I 2 10c

एको बहूनां यो विदधाति कामान् K. V 13b

1c Upa. 4 + Upa. 6 (Doubtful)

विश्वाधिपो रुद्रो महर्षिभिः (Read रुदर) Ś. III 4b no other instance.

Id Upajāti (5)

अध्यात्मयोगाधिगमेन देवं K. II 12c

न सन्न चासच्छिव एव कवेलः Śv. IV 15b

1d, पश्यत्स्विवैह निहितं गुहायां M. III<sup>1</sup> 7d

1e Upajāti (6)

एतद्दिद्वर्तीयेन वृणे वरेण K. I 13d

1f Ttribrach medial Upajāti

त्रिकर्मकृत्तरतिजन्ममृत्यू K. I 17b The only sure case.

1g Upa. 5 + Trb Upa. 7-

तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वां K. II 23d

धनुर्गृहीत्वोपनिषदं महास्त्वं M. II<sup>2</sup> 3a

2a Śā. 4 + Upa. 7.

नैतां सुङ्गां वित्तमयीमवाप्तो K II 3c

भारद्वाजोऽङ्गिरसो परावराम् M I<sup>1</sup> 2d

2a, अणीयान्द्यतर्क्यमणुग्रमाणात् K II 8d Only instance.

2b Śā. 4 + Upa. 6.

यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वम् Śv. VI 18a

एतत्तुल्यं यदि मन्यसे वरम् K. I 24a

2b, ब्रह्मैवेदममृतं पुरस्तात् M. II<sup>2</sup> 11 Adoubtful case, no other instance.

2c Śā. 4 + trb Upa. 7

न तत्तत्त्वं, न जरया बिभेति K. I<sup>2</sup>b.

3a Vai. 5 + Upa. 7,

सोमात्पर्जन्यः ओषधयः पृथिव्याम् M II<sup>1</sup> 5b only instance.

3a, सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयान्ति I M I<sup>2</sup> 11c. A doubtful case since

there is an alternative reading विरागाः

3b Vai. 5 + Upa. 6

समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नो M III<sup>1</sup> 2a

ये पूर्वं देवा ऋषयश्च तद्विदुः Śv. V 6c

3b, ते मृत्योर्यान्ति विततस्यपाशं K. IV 2b

- 3c Vai. 5 + trb Upa. 7.  
तपःश्रद्धे ये ह्युपवसन्त्यरण्ये M I<sup>2</sup> 11a
- 4a Short 2nd A + Upa. 7-  
तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विमाति K. V 15d
- 4b Short 2nd A + Upa. b.  
एवमात्मात्मनि गृह्यतेऽसौ Śv. I 15c only instance.
- 4c Short 2nd A + trb Upa. 7.  
नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो K. II 23a only instance.
- 5a Short 2nd B + Upa. 7 no instance.
- 5b Short 2nd B + Upa. 6.  
शान्तसंकल्पः सुमना यथास्यात् K. I 10a
- 5b, विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखी Śv. III 3a Doubtful (The phrases are quoted).
- 5c Short 2nd B + trb Upa. 7.  
स्वस्ति वः पाराय तमसः परस्तात् MII<sup>2</sup> 6f. But the caesura is after the 6th Syllable and there is no other case.  
यत् तत्सत्यस्य परमं निधानं III 1 6d is in the same predicament.
- 6Aa Upa. 4 + Śa. 7.  
गुहाहितं गह्वरेष्ठं पुराणं K. II<sup>1</sup> 12.  
अनादिमत्त्वं विभुत्वेन वर्तसे Śv. III 4c. But the caesura falls after 5.  
औद्दालकिरारुणिर्मत्प्रसृष्टः K. I. 11b  
महत्पदमत्रैतत् समर्पितम् (Read अत्र एतत्) M II 21b  
देवैरप्रापि विचिकित्सितं पुरा K. I 21a J
- 6 A 6 Upa 5 + Śa 7.  
ज्ञानैर्बिभार्ति जायमानं च पश्यते Śv. V 2 d
- 6 A 6, वाचो विमुञ्चथाऽमृतस्यैष सेतुः M II<sup>2</sup> 5 d  
स्वयं च जीव शरत्तो यावदिच्छसि K I 23 d
- 6 Ba. Upa. 4 + Vā 7  
अन्यं वरं नचिकेतो वृणीष्व K I 21 c
- 6 Ba स्तोमं महदुरुगायं प्रतिष्ठाम् K II 11 c

5 B b Upa. 5 + Vā 7

इहैव सर्वे प्रविलीयन्ति कामाः M III 2 d

6 b b i हृदीन्द्रियाणि मनसा सन्निरुध्य Śv. II 8 b

6 b c, Upa. opening 6 + Vā. 7

मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यन् Only instance

7A Śālinī

मत्वा धीरो हर्षशोकौ जहाति K I 12d

7A i अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्याः K II 5d

7B Vāṭormi

स नो बुद्ध्या शुभया संयुनक्तु Śv. III 4d

यस्यानश्नन् वसति ब्राह्मणो गृहे K I 8d

7B i सोमो यत्र पवते यत्र सूर्यः M II 1 6d

8A, Vai 5 + Śā 7 (i.e.) Vaiśvadevī

अनित्यैर्द्रव्यैः प्राप्तवानास्मि नित्यम् K II 10d

8B, Vai 5 + Vā 7

य एको वर्णो बहुधा शक्तियोगात् Śv IV 1a

8B i आनन्दरूपममृतं यद्विभाति M II 2 7g

9A Short 2nd A + Śā 7

वीतमन्युर्गौतमो माभिमृत्यो K I 10b

9A i तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धिप्रकाशं Śv VI 15c

9 B short 2nd A + Vā 7

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यो M III 2 24a

10A Short 2nd B + Śā 7

पृथगात्मानं प्रेरितारं च मत्वा Śv I 6c

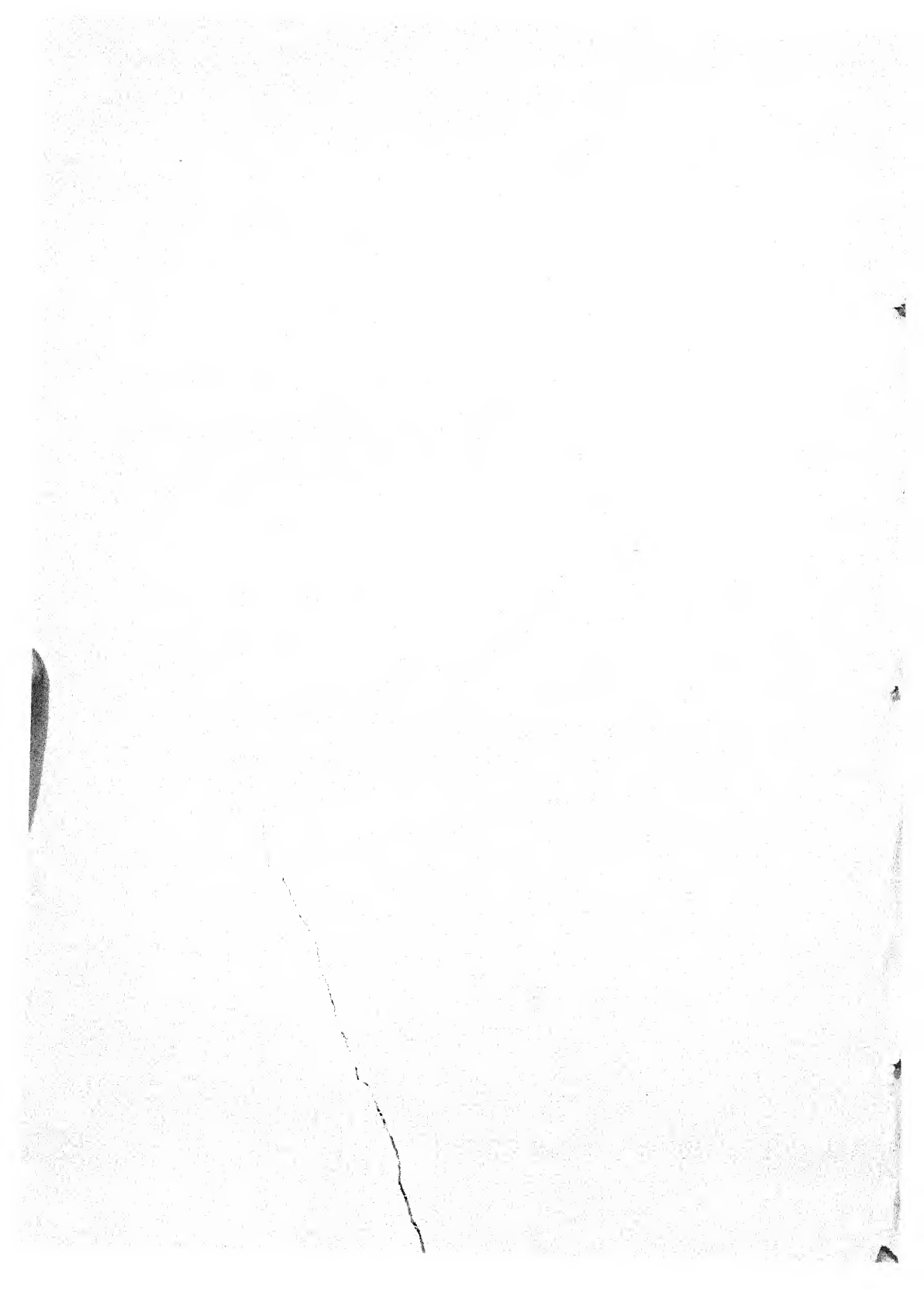
10A i पञ्चप्राणोर्मि पञ्चबुद्ध्यादिमूलम् Śv I 5b

10 B Short 2nd + Vā 7

यत्र देवानां पतिरेकोऽधिवासः M I 2 5d

एष वः पुण्यः सुकृतो ब्रह्मलोकः M I 2 6d

10B i श्रवणायापि बहुमिर्यो न लभ्यः K II 7c only instance



## FRAGMENTS OF BHATṬANĀYAKA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

Among the most important of Abhinavagupta's predecessors, in the sphere of literary criticism, whom he had to deal with, was Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*. He was an avowed antagonist to the doctrine of *Vyaññjanā* and *dhvani* as propounded by Ānandavardhana. He might have been the same Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka, whom Kalhaṇa, in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions as the protege of king Śaṅkaravarman. The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* was intended by the author to demolish the doctrine of *dhvani* as stated by Ānandavardhana. It seems to have been modelled after the *Dhvanyāloka*. It should have been made up of certain basic *Kārikās*, with a prose *Vṛtti* thereon. Illustrative verses taken from ancient works, should have found their way into the work. Verses from the *Gāthā Saptasatī* of Hāla, *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, *Rāmābhyaśaya* of Yaśovarman etc., should have been incorporated into the work.

Mr. V. V. Sovani, in an article contributed to the R. G. Bhandarkar commemoration volume makes the following remarks regarding the nature of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭanāyaka :—" Bhaṭṭanāyaka, the author of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* (a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, as appears from the opening portion of the *Abhinavabhāratī*).....etc. p. 390. The opening passage on which Mr. Sovani relies, reads thus:—

1. Here at least, it is believed that the question of differentiating the author of the *Kārikās* from that of the *Vṛtti* will not arise, as in the case of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Abhinavagupta refers to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as to Ānandavardhana, as the author of both the *Kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*. References to Abhinavagupta citing Ānandavardhana as the author of the *Kārikās* have already been given by Dr. Śankaran (Proceedings and Transactions of the third Oriental conference, Madras, Page 85). In addition, the following reference may be noted :—

यथा ध्वन्यालोककारः

सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं रसाभिव्यक्त्यपेक्षया ।

न तु केवलया शास्त्रस्थितिसंपादनेच्छया ॥

Vol. II, p. 519.

Madras Manuscript of the *Abhinavabhāratī*

सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं etc., is a *Dhvani Kārikā* III-12 and Abhinavagupta clearly says that the author of the *āloka* himself wrote the *Kārikās* also.



भट्टनायकस्तु ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतं अविद्याविरचितनिस्सारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणी-  
कृतं तन्नाट्यं, तद्वक्ष्यामि—यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं क्षणेन कल्पना-  
शतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां हृदयग्रहनिदानमत्यक्तस्त्रालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनटो-  
परचितं रामरावणादि चेष्टितमसत्यं कुतोप्यभूतात् भूतवृत्त्या भाति । तथा भासनमपि च  
पुमर्थोपदेशोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकम् । अथ च  
श्रवणमननादिवशेन परमपुमर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन शान्तरसोपक्षे-  
पोऽयं भविष्यति । स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादु (न्तमु) त्यद्यते रस इति । तदनेन पार-  
मार्थिकं योजनमुक्तमिति व्याख्यानमेव सहृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्य प्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥ इति ।

Madras Manuscript of Abhinavabhāratī, p. 6-7 (Vol. I).

This extract cannot lead one to infer that the Sahṛdayadarpaṇa or Hṛdayadarpaṇa is a commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata. Mr. Sovani seems to have been misled by the phrase इति व्याख्यानमेव सहृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । As a matter of fact Abhinavagupta draws the above conclusions from the verse नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये etc., which certainly was written by Bhaṭṭanāyaka. The whole passage is an *avatārikā* to the verse of Bhaṭṭanāyaka. From the nature of the verse quoted above (i.e.) नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये etc., this inference is possible that Bhaṭṭanāyaka began his work with this verse as the *māṅgala śloka*. Another inference also seems possible: the work was known through two names (i.e.) Sahṛdayadarpaṇa or Hṛdayadarpaṇa. The former of the two names was probably given to the work on the analogy of the Sahṛdayāloka (Dhvanyāloka) which was intended to be criticised in that work.

Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka seems to have been a Mīmāṃsaka. Some of the phrases which Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka uses betray that fact. The conception of the अंशत्रय of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka seems to have been borrowed from the Mīmāṃsakas. Expressions like भावकर्त्तृ etc., remind us of the भावना of the Mīmāṃsakas. Apart from these coincidences, we find Abhinavagupta actually ridiculing him for his Mīmāṃsaka predilections. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in commenting upon the word इव in the famous Rāmayaṇa verse: रविसङ्क्रान्तसौभाग्यः

etc., has made the following remark “इवशब्दयोगात् गौणताप्यत्र न काचित्”. Abhinavagupta, while criticising this statement, observes :—

आदर्शचन्द्रमसो हि सादृश्यं इवशब्दो द्योतयति । निश्वासान्ध इति चादर्शविशेषणम् । इवशब्दस्यान्वार्थत्वेन योजने आदर्शश्चन्द्रमा इत्युदाहरणं भवेत् । योजनं चैतादिवशब्दस्य क्लिष्टम् । न च निश्वासेनान्ध इवादर्शः, स इव चन्द्र इति कल्पना युक्ता । जैमिनीयसूत्रं हि एवं योज्यते, न काव्यमित्यलम् ॥

Dhavanāloka p. 63.

In another place, in the Abhinavabhāratī, Abhinavagupta ridicules him as following Jaiminī.

यत्तु भट्टनायकेनोक्तम् .....  
तेन नाट्याङ्गता समर्थिता, ‘फलं च पुरुषार्थत्वात्’ इति केवलं जैमिनिरनुसृतः.....  
.....etc

Abhinavabhāratī Vol. III, p. 89.

From these two extracts, it may be clear that Abhinavagupta regarded him as a Mīmāṃsaka.<sup>1</sup>

Bhāṭṭanāyaka's criticism of the poetic compositions of earlier poets :—

“इह दृष्टसिद्धादिपदप्रयोगे धार्मिकपदप्रयोगे च भयानकरसावेशकृतैव निषेधावगतिः । तदीयभीरुधीरत्वप्रकृतितिनियमावगममन्तरेण एकान्ततो निषेधगल्यभावादिति तन्नकेवलार्थसामर्थ्यं निषेधगतेः निमित्तम्”<sup>2</sup>

Locana p. 19.

“अहमित्यभिनयविशेषेण आत्मदशावेदनाच्छब्दमेतदपि”<sup>3</sup>

Locana p. 21.

1. Dr. De was probably not aware of these references when he made the following remark,

“Hiriyāṇṇa, in his article on “Indian Aesthetics” in the Proceedings and Transactions of the first Oriental conference, Poona, Vol. II, has dealt with the subject at some length. One may think, however, that his note that Bhāṭṭa-Nāyaka was a Mīmāṃsaka has not been clearly made out”.

Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 157 f. n.

2. This is a portion of the literary estimate of the following verse, by Bhāṭṭa-Nāyaka.

मम धम्मिम वीसत्थो सो सुणओ अज्ज मारिओ देण ।

गोलाणइक्खकुङ्गावासिणा दरिअ सीहेण ॥

Gāthā Saptasāti.

3. This is on the verse.

अत्ता एत्थ णिमज्जइ एत्थअहं दिअसअं पलोएहि ।

मा पहिअ रत्तिअन्धअ सेज्जाए महेण मज्जहिंसि ॥

Gāthā Saptasāti.

“ह हा हेति संरभार्थोऽयं चमत्कारः”<sup>1</sup>

“इवशब्दयोगात् गौणताप्यत्र न काचित्”<sup>2</sup>

Locana p. 63.

The following extracts refer to Bhaṭṭanāyaka's criticism of the doctrine of Dhvani.

“ध्वनिर्नामापरो योऽसौ व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः ।

तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे स्यात् काव्याङ्गत्वं<sup>3</sup> नरूपता ॥”

Locana p. 11.

Jayaratha's commentary on the Alankāra Sarvasva, p. 9.

The portion अङ्गत्वं<sup>4</sup> रूपता is also quoted on page 15 of the Locana in the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

“काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक्”

Locana p. 12.

“शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगी<sup>5</sup> भवेत् ॥

Locana p. 12.

Kāvyañuśāsana p. 27.

Jayaratha's commentary on Alankāra Sarvasva p. 9.

“सर्वत्र तर्हि काव्यव्यवहारः स्यात्”

Locana p. 28.

1. This is on the verse,

स्निग्धस्यामलक्रान्तिलिप्तवियतो वेल्लद्वलाका घनाः

वाताः शीकरिणः पयोदसुहृदामानन्दकेकाः कलाः ।

कामं सन्तु हृदं कठोरहृदयो रामोस्मि सर्वं सहे

वैदेही तु कथं भविष्यति ह हा हा देवि धीरा भव ॥

Rāmābhyudaya of Yaśovarman.

2. This is on the verse,

रक्सिंक्रान्तसौभाग्यस्तुषारावृतमण्डलः ।

निश्वासान्ध इवादर्शः चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥

Rāmāyaṇa.

3. अंशत्वम् another reading and is preferable; Jayaratha adopts this.

4. अंशत्वम् Do.

5. काव्यगीः is the reading according to Jayaratha.

The following quotations bear on *Śabda-vyāpāra* and the mode of Rāsa, realization.

“अभिधा भावना चान्या तद्भोगीकृतमेव च ।<sup>1</sup>

अभिधाधामतां याते शब्दार्थलङ्घ्नी ततः ॥<sup>2</sup>

भावनाभाव्येषोपि शृङ्गारादिगणो<sup>a</sup> मतः<sup>3</sup>

तद्भोगीकृतरूपेण व्याप्यते सिद्धिमान्नरः ॥<sup>4</sup>

Kāvyānuśāsana p. 61.

“दृश्यमानाथवा मोक्षे यात्यङ्गत्वमियं स्फुटम् ॥”

Jayaratha on *Alaṅkāra Sarvasva* p. 9.

Nirṇaya Sāgara edition.

#### DOCTRINE OF RASA-REALIZATION.

“रसो यदा परगततया प्रतीयते तर्हि ताटस्थमेव स्यात् । न च स्वगतत्वेन रामादिचरितमयात्कव्यादसौ प्रतीयते । स्वात्मगतत्वेन च प्रतीतौ स्वात्मनि रसस्योत्पत्तिरेवाभ्युपगता स्यात् । साचायुक्ता । सामाजिकं प्रत्यविभावत्वात् । कान्तात्वं साधारणं वासनाविकासहेतुः विभावनायां प्रयोजकमिति चेत्, देवतावर्णनादौ तदपि कथम् ? न च स्वकान्तास्मरणं मध्ये संवेद्यते । अलोकसामान्यानां च रामादीनां ये समुद्रसेतुबन्धादयो विभावाः ते कथं साधारण्यं भजेयुः । न चोत्साहादिमात्रं स्मर्यते । अननुभूतत्वात् । शब्दादपि तत्प्रतिपत्तौ न रसोपजनः, प्रत्यक्षादिव नायकमिथुनप्रतिपत्तौ । उत्पत्तिपक्षे च करुणस्योत्पादादुःखित्वे करुणप्रेक्षासु पुनरप्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । तन्न । उत्पत्तिरपि नाप्यभिव्यक्तिः । शक्तिरूपस्याभिव्यक्तौ विषयार्जनतारतम्यप्रवृत्तिः स्यात् । तत्रापि किं स्वगतोऽभिव्यज्यते परगतो वेति पूर्ववदेव दोषः । तेन न प्रतीयते, नोत्पद्यते, नाभिव्यज्यते काव्येन रसः । किन्तु, अन्यशब्दवैलक्षण्यं काव्यात्मानः शब्दस्य, त्र्यंशता प्रसादात् । तत्र अभिधायकत्वं वाच्यविषयं, भावकत्वं रसविषयं, भोक्तृत्वं सहृदयविषयं—इति त्रयोऽंशभूता व्या-

1. This is quoted by Jagannātha Paṇḍita in his. *Rasagāṅgādhara* p. 25 where he reads तद्भोगीकृतिरेव च ॥

2, 3, and 4. These are quoted by Jayaratha also in his commentary on the *Alaṅkāra Sarvasva*, p. 9.

a. गणो हि यत् ॥ is the reading noticed by Hemacandra in his commentary on the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 62.

Abhinavagupta also adopts this reading in his *Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I, p. 210.

पाराः । तत्राभिधाभागो यदि शुद्धः स्यात्, तन्त्रादिभ्यः शास्त्रन्यायेभ्यः श्लेषालङ्काराणां को भेदः ? वृत्तिभेदवैचित्र्यं वा अकिञ्चित्करम् । श्रुतिदुष्टादिवर्जनं च किमर्थम् ? तेन रसभावनारव्योद्वितीयो व्यापारः यद्वशादभिधा विलक्षणैव । तच्चैतद्भावकत्वं नाम यत् काव्यस्य तद्विभावादीनां साधारणत्वापादनं नाम । भाविते च रसे तस्य भोगः, योऽनुभवस्मरणप्रतिपत्तिभ्यो विलक्षण एव द्रुतिविस्तरविकासनामा रजस्तमोवैचित्र्याननुविद्धसत्त्वमयनिजचित्त्वभावनिवृत्तिद्रुतिविश्रान्तिलक्षणः परब्रह्मास्वादसचिवः । स एव च प्रधानभूतौऽशः सिद्धिरूप इति । व्युत्पत्तिर्नामाप्रधानमेव” इति

Locana, p. 67. 68.

The following extract from Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka, found in the *Abhinavabhārati* may be taken to be a continuation of the prose passage already quoted from the Locana.

प्रधाने सिद्धिभागेऽस्य प्रयोगाङ्गत्वमागताः ।

गेयादेस्तथैवेते[?] त्रिधै ह्युपयोगतः ॥

सोपानपदपङ्क्त्या च साचमोक्षस्पृगात्मिका ॥

*Abhinavabhārati*, Vol. III, p. 87.

सिद्धेरपि नरेऽङ्गत्वं व्रजन्त्यास्तत्त्वक्षेमम् (स्तत्त्वमक्षतम् । ?)

*Abhinavabhārati*, Vol. III, p. 89.

संवेदनाख्यव्यङ्ग्य (स्व) परसंविद्भिगोचरः ।

आस्वादनात्मानुभवो रसः काव्यार्थ उच्यते ॥

*Abhinavabhārati*, Vol. I, p. 211

The following is an extract found in the *Abhinavabhārati* and Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*. The idea contained in this passage is the same as that found in the extract already quoted from the Locana. Hence, it may be that Abhinavagupta quoted Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka *verbatim* in one place, and summarised his arguments in his own words in another. I think that the extract in the Locana may be a direct quotation and that in the *Abhinavabhārati* only a brief summary. Hemacandra, as in many other places, copies Abhinavagupta without acknowledging it. For the sake of convenient reference, I give here the passage from the *Abhinavabhārati*.

रसो न प्रतीयते, नोत्पद्यते, नाभिव्यज्यते । स्वगतत्वेन हि प्रतीतौ करुणे दुःखित्वं स्यात् । न च सा प्रतीतिर्युक्ता । सीतादेरविभावत्वात् । स्वकान्तास्पृश्यसंवेदनात् । देवतादौ

साधारणीकरणायोग्यत्वात् । समुद्रलङ्घनादेरसाधारण्यात् । न च तत्त्वतो रामस्य स्मृतिरनु-  
पलब्धत्वात् । न च शब्दानुमानादिभ्यस्तत्प्रतीतौ लोकस्य सरसताप्रयुक्ता प्रत्यक्षादिव नायक-  
युगलकावभासे हि प्रत्युत लज्जाजुगुप्सास्पृहादिस्वोचितचित्तवृत्त्यन्तरोदयमव्यग्रतयाकाश-  
सत्त्वमथापि स्यात् । तन्न प्रतीतिरनुभवस्मृत्यादिरूपरसस्य युक्ता । उत्पत्तावपि तुल्यमेतदू-  
षणम् । शक्तिरूपत्वेन पूर्वं स्थितस्य पश्चादभिव्यक्तौ विषयार्जनतारतम्यापत्तिः । स्वगत-  
परगतत्वादि च पूर्ववद्विकल्पम् । तस्मात् काव्ये दोषाभावगुणालङ्कारमयत्वलक्षणेन नाट्ये  
चतुर्विधाभिनेयरूपेण निविडनिजमोहसङ्कटतानिवारणकारणविभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना-  
भिधातः द्वितीयेनांशेन भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसः अनुभवस्मृत्यादिलक्षणेन रजस्त-  
मोनुबोधवैचित्र्यबलात्प्रतिविस्तारविकासलक्षणेन सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणे-  
न परब्रह्मास्वादसन्निधेन भोगेन परं भुज्यते ॥

Abhinavabhārati, Vol. I-210.

Kāvyaṇuśāsana commentary, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press p. 61.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

तत्कर्ता च कविः प्रोक्तो भेदेऽपि हि तदस्ति यत् ।

Ruyyaka's commentary on the

Vyaktiviveka, p. 13. (T. S. S.)

वाग्धेनुर्दुग्ध एकं हि रसं यद्वाल्लतृष्णया ।

तेन नास्य रसः स स्यात् दुह्यते योगिभिर्हि सः ॥

Lecana, p. 29

काव्येन भाव्यन्ते रसाः <sup>1</sup>

Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p. 62.  
commentary.

संसर्गादि यथा शास्त्र एकत्वात्तलयोगतः[?] ।

वाक्यार्थस्तद्वदेवात्र शृङ्गारादी रसो मतः ॥

Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p. 62.  
commentary.

काव्यार्था भावयन्तीति भावाः

Kāvyaṇuśāsana, p. 62.  
commentary.

1. Quoted by Abhinavagupta also in the Abhinavabhārati, Vol. I, pp. 210-11.



कीटानुविद्धरत्नादिसाधारण्येन काव्यता ।

दुष्टेष्वपि मता यत्र रसाद्यनुगमः स्फुटः ॥

Rasapradīpa, p. 3

Edited by Gopinatha Kaviraj

as No. 12 of Sarasvatībhavana texts.

### RASA-DOCTRINE OF BHATTA NĀYAKA.

Among the various Schools of literary criticism, the most prominent is the *Rasa*-School. The followers of that School maintain that *Rasa* is the soul of poetry. The process through which *Rasa*-realization takes place has been differently explained by various critics. Ānandavardhana holds that it is realised through *Vyañjanā*, one of the functions—the most important function of poetic expression. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who came after Ānandavardhana, tries to explain the process of realizing *Rasa* in a different way. His explanation may be summed up as follows :—

*Rasa* should not be made out as arising in the person, whose action is represented on the stage (i.e.) Rāma etc., or as arising in the actor on the stage. For, in either case, we cannot account for the supreme thrill the spectator experiences. Nor could it be argued that the onlooker feels *Rasa* on account of the corresponding *bhāvas* which may arise in him. For, when we are looking at a Rāma-play, we find exhibited 'the crossing of the ocean', 'the building of a great dam across the sea' 'two people coming out successful in a deadly conflict with fourteen thousand people', etc., and these cannot call up similar experiences in our mind. So the only explanation possible, under these circumstances, will be this :—Words associated with *abhinaya* come to be possessed of three functions which are respectively अभिधायकत्व, भावकत्व and भोजकत्व, these terms being translated thus signification, idealization and illumination or revealing illumination<sup>1</sup> respectively. Every one of these functions has a distinct value. Through *abhidhāyakatva*, the meaning of the words is understood; and one comes to know the story.

1. I do not accept the translation of Dr. De, which is as follows :—Denotation, generalization and enjoyment. History of Skt. poetics, Vol. II, p. 155.

This *abhidhā* should be considered to be a peculiar kind of *abhidhā* <sup>1</sup> for the following reasons. When we have different expressions to denote the same idea we ought to use only such words which are not jarring to the ear. To take a practical instance, the word *taru* will be less objectionable in a poetic composition than the word *Vṛkṣa*. Now this conception of *श्रुतिदुष्ट* cannot be maintained if we do not recognise any peculiarity in the *abhidhā* of poetic expression. The *abhidhā* in *taru* is different from the *abhidhā* in *Vṛkṣa*.

The second function *Bhāvakatvam* is intended to lift us up above ourselves. All individualistic associations vanish at this stage. We forget that A is the Actor, B the scene and C ourselves. A sort of what is technically known as *साधारणीकरण* or generalization is brought about. All these go into the make-up of Rasa-realization.

The further stage is represented by the third function of poetic expressions, known as *Bhojakatvam* and this pertains to the spectator who feels the bliss consequent on Rasa-realization, which consists in the culminating experience filled with bliss, amounting to illumination resulting from the dominance of *sattva*.

Mallinātha makes an interesting summary of the process of Rasa-realization according to the various *Ālaṅkārikas*. The doctrine of Lollaṭa and others could be termed *उत्पत्तिवाद*; of Śrī Śaṅkuka and his followers, as *अनुमितिवाद*; of Ānandavardhana and his follower, as *अभिव्यक्तिवाद*; and of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka and his followers, as *मुक्तिवाद*.

Compare, Mallinātha on *Ekāvali*,

p. 85. (B. S. S. Edition).

1. Dr. De remarks:—

“The *abhidhā* is not merely the actual denotation of a word, but is given an extended meaning so as to include *lakṣaṇā* or ‘indication’ in its scope (*abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*) thus embracing the two functions already analysed by previous speculation.

(Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 155.)

This remark is obviously incorrect. No writer on Śāstra will be foolish enough to include *lakṣaṇā* under *abhidhā*, and more so Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who was a staunch Mimāṃsaka. The mistake of Dr. De is due to the fact that he was not able to restore the correct text of the extract from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The reading found in Pandit Durgāprasād’s edition of the *Dhvanyāloka* should not have been taken to be the genuine text of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The passage should be read— *यद्वादादभिधाविलक्षणैव* and not *यद्वादादभिधाविलक्षणैव* as supposed by Dr. De.

The Rasa doctrine of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka seems to have influenced some at least of the later Ālankārikās. The author of the *Daśarūpakāvaloka* shows himself to be a clear antagonist to the doctrine of Ānandavardhana and follows Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka in stating his Rasa doctrine. Though Dhanika does not mention the name of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka it is quite clear that he follows him. There are sufficient reasons to suspect that the verse which Dhanika quotes—

भावामिनयसंबन्धान् भावयन्ति रसानिमान् ।

यस्मात्तस्मादमीभावा विज्ञेया नाव्ययोक्तृभिः ॥

(D. Avaloka, p. 121.)

while stating his Rasa doctrine, is taken from the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka. Some of the sentences quoted below, show clearly how much the author is indebted to Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka.

अतो न रसादीनां काव्येन सह व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावः । किं तर्हि । भाव्य-  
भावकसंबन्धः । काव्यं हि भावकम् । भाव्या रसादयः । ते हि स्वतो भवन्त एव  
भावकेषु विशिष्टविभावादिमता काव्येन भाव्यन्ते । न चान्यत्रशब्दान्तरेषु, भाव्यभाव-  
कलक्षणसंबन्धाभावात् काव्यशब्देष्वपि तथा भाव्यमिति वाच्यम् । भावनाक्रियावादिभि-  
स्तथाङ्गीकृतत्वात् ।

D. Avaloka, p. 121.

Thus Bhaṭṭanāyaka's *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* represents an important stage in the history of Sanskrit literary criticism. It is a pity that such a work should have been lost. But considering the fact that the book seems to have been available even to writers of the 16th century as the author of the *Rasapradīpa*, it is fervently hoped that ere long we may come to lay hands on that work in some unknown and unexpected quarter.

On page 234 of the same book, Dr. De repeats the same mistake thus "It is on account of this function that *abhidhā* or 'denotation' is also 'indication'; the 'denotation' can give to the expressed sense a metaphorical significance as the basis of *Rasa*."

Mr. K. P. Trivedi also seems to have misunderstood the Locana. He takes the text as it is, without noting the mistake, and begins to explain the passage thus :— "अभिधा according to the Bhaktivādins" (and Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka is the chief of them) "embraces अभिधा and लक्षणा" P. 425. (Notes on *Ekāvali*, B. S. S. Edition.)

## THE FIRST STANZA IN TIRUKKURAL.

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., L.T.

*Asst. Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras.*

அகரமுதல வெழுத்தெல்லாமாதி பகவன்முதற்றே யுலகு.

(*Akaramutala veluttellāmāti pakavan mutarṛē yulaku.*)

This is the first stanza written by Tiruvalluvar in his Tirukkural, by which he indirectly invokes the blessings of God. It was the practice in ancient days to do so either directly or indirectly at the beginning of a work, since it was believed that it would avert the obstacles that might arise before the completion of the work. Here the word 'ஆதிபகவன்' suggests it. Simply by the mention of this word, he does the Maṅgalācaraṇa. The stanza means: The world had God at its beginning, as the sound-series commences with 'அ'. Here the author's chief object seems to suggest that the whole world has come from God. The first line 'அகரமுதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' is given only by way of comparison. The point of comparison between உலகு and எழுத்து is simply that the latter has 'அ' as the first of its series and the former had God at its beginning. When two things are compared, it is sufficient if they are similar in some respects and it is not necessary that they should be similar in all points as is seen from the rule in poetics 'उपमानेन उपमेयस्य गुणलेशतस्साम्यं उपमा'. Here 'ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு' suggests that the world was created by God. From this Parimēlālakar, the famous commentator on Tirukkural stretches the interpretation of 'அகரமுதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' and says 'இது தலைமைபற்றி வந்த எடுத்துக் காட்டுவமை. அகரத்திற்குத் தலைமை விகாரத்தானன்றி நாதமாத்திரையாக இயல்பாற் பிறத்தலானும், ஆதிபகவற்குத் தலைமை செயற்கையுணர்வானன்றி இயர்கையுணர்வான் முற்றுமுணர்ந்தலானுங்கொள்க.'. This may be translated thus:—'The point of comparison is 'standing at the head'. 'அ' stands at the head because it represents the stage of vibration (परा) before sounds are actually made audible and from which all sounds proceed, and God is creator and not created'. Why he says so seems to be this:—Since 'ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு' suggests that the world is created by God, he seems to think that 'அகரமுதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' should also suggest that all sounds came from 'அ'. Two points may be noted here. 'Standing at the head' may be taken to be the point of comparison for both and 'ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றே யுலகு'

may further suggest that the world is created by God and it is not necessary that 'அகரமுதல வெழுத்தெல்லாம்' should also suggest that the sounds are created, or come, from 'அ'. Besides it is very difficult to find whether 'அ' is used as a synonym for நாதம் (nātam). Possibly the first sūtra of Tolkāppiyam 'எழுத்தெனப்படுப அகரமுதலாகவரிவாய் முப்பகிதென்ப, might have suggested to Tiruvalluvar the expression 'அகரமுதல்.'

But Naccinārkkīyār while commenting upon the sūtra 'மெய்யினியக்க மகரமொடு சிவணும்' (மொழிமாபு, 13) in Tolkāppiyam makes a reference to this stanza thus:— 'இங்ஙனம் மெய்க்கண் அகரங்கலந்து நிற்குமாறு கூறினற்போலப் பதினெருயிரிக்கண்ணும் அகரங்கலந்து நிற்குமென்பது ஆசிரியர் கூறராயினார். அந்நிலைமை தமக்கே புலப்படுதலானும் பிறர்க்கு இவ்வாறு உணர்த்துதல் அரிதாகலானுமென்று உணர்க. இறைவன் இயங்குதிணைக்கண்ணும் நிலத்திணைக்கண்ணும் பிறவற்றின்கண்ணும் அவற்றின் தன்மையாய் நிற்குமாறு எல்லார்க்கும் ஒப்பமுடிந்தாற்போல அகரமும் உயிரிக்கண்ணும் தனிமெய்க்கண்ணுங்கலந்து அவற்றின் தன்மையாயே நிற்குமென்பது சான்றோர்க்கெல்லாம் ஒப்பமுடிந்தது, "அகரமுதல்" என்னும் குறளான் அகரமாகிய முதலையுடைய எழுத்துக்களெல்லாம் அதுபோல இறைவனாகிய முதலையுடைத்து உலகமென வள்ளுவனார் உவமைகூறிய வாரற்றானும், கண்ணன் எழுத்துக்களில் அகரமாகின்றேன் யானேயெனக் கூறியவாரற்றானும் பிற நூல்களாலும் உணர்க.' Here his statements 'பதினெருயிரிக்கண்ணும் அகரங்கலந்து நிற்குமென்பது . . . . . தமக்கே புலப்படுதலானும் பிறர்க்கு இவ்வாறு உணர்த்துதல் அரிதாகலானும்' and 'அகரமும் உயிரிக்கண்ணும் தனிமெய்க்கண்ணுங்கலந்து அவற்றின் தன்மையாயே நிற்கும்' deserve careful consideration. How can all vowels be connected with அ? How are all pure consonants (தனிமெய்) connected with அ? The sūtra 'மெய்யினியக்க மகரமொடு சிவணும்' simply means that the consonants are pronounced along with 'அ' (so that they may be audible) and cannot at all mean that all consonants have some connection with 'அ'. This sūtra may be compared with 'हकारादिषु अकार उच्चारणार्थः' which means that 'अ' in each letter of the Māhēśvara sūtras ह्यवरट्, अमङ्गणनम्.....हल् is added simply to facilitate pronunciation. This wrong interpretation of this sūtra by Naccinārkkīyār is probably due to the wrong interpretation of the first kural and the statement in the Bhagavadgītā 'अक्षराणां अकारोऽस्मि.....' (10th ch.—30 sl.) Perhaps he thought that 'अक्षराणां अकारोऽस्मि' means that God represents 'अ' among अक्षरा's and so all अक्षरा's ought to have come from 'अ'.

If this interpretation is correct, the statement ‘वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि’ which is found in the same context must be taken to mean that all the other Vedas sprung from Sāmaveda; but it is clear that this cannot be since Sāmaveda consists of Sāmans which are nothing but chants as is seen from Jaimini's Pūrvamīmamsa sūtra ‘गीतिषु सामाख्या’ and all of them have Rks or verses for their bases as is seen from the statement ‘ऋच्ययूदं साम.’ Besides most of the Rks upon which the Sāmans of the Sāmaveda are based are found in the R̥gveda. Hence his interpretation falls to the ground. Besides I fear he has forgotten the principle that the meaning of a sentence cannot be correctly made out without knowing its context. Here the context is that Lord Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna the different *forms* in which he may be worshipped. This is quite clear from the अवतारिका of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya ‘एवं च ध्ययोऽहं’ to the śloka

आदित्यानामहं विष्णुर्ज्योतिषां रविरंशुमान् ।  
मरीचिर्मरुतामसि नक्षत्राणामहं शशी ॥

(Bhagavadgītā, 10-21.)

Hence ‘अक्षराणां अकारोऽस्मि’ means that the form among sounds to worship him is ‘अ’ and not ‘எழுத்துக்களில் அகரமாகின்றேன் யானே’ as said by Naccinārkkiniyar.

Turning back to Parimēlaḷakar again, he says ‘தமிழெழுத்திற்கேயன்றி வடவெழுத்திற்கும் முதலாதல் நோக்கி, எழுத்தெல்லாம் என்றார்.’ (i. e.) the propriety of the word ‘எல்லாம்’ in this stanza is that the word ‘எழுத்து’ should suggest the sounds not only in Tamil but also in Sanskrit. If by ‘தமிழெழுத்திற்கே’ he means the sounds *peculiar* to Tamil and, by ‘வடவெழுத்திற்கும்’ he means the sounds *common* to both Tamil and Sanskrit, we may pass by the statement, since the grammarian Swāminatha Dēṣikar says that only ழ, ள, ற, ள are Tamil sounds and the rest Sanskrit, though it is evident that he made a mistake in having said so; for a language could not have lived independently with only *four* sounds. If, on the other hand, Parimēlaḷakar means that ‘எல்லாம்’ suggests both Tamil and Sanskrit sounds, I fear he has made a mistake; for there is no need for the author who writes a work in Tamil to make mention of Sanskrit sounds and ‘a’ is the first sound in the sound series not only in Sanskrit and Tamil, but also in many other languages.

If so, we will have to answer why the word ‘எல்லாம்’ should find a place here. The answer is ‘only for the sake of clearness’; or the author



might have feared that, if there were no 'எல்லாம்,' the readers might take 'எழுத்து' to apply only to the primary sounds mentioned by Tolkāppianār in his first sūtra 'எழுத்தெனப்படுப அகரமுதனகரலிறுவாய் முப்பலிதென்ப சார்ந்துவான் மரபின் மூன்றலங்கடையே' and not to the secondary sounds mentioned in the second sūtra 'அவைதாங்குற்றியலிகரங்குற்றிய லுகாமாப்த்மென்ற முப்பாற் புள்ளிபுமெழுத்தோரன்ன'. In order that 'எழுத்து' may apply to both the primary and secondary sounds, he might have added 'எல்லாம்'.

From the expression 'ஆதிபகவன்முதற்றே யலகு' it is clear that the author considers God to be both the efficient, and material, cause (அமேதநிமித்தோபாदानகாரண) of the world and not the efficient cause (நிமித்தகாரண) alone as Śaivasiddhāntins do; besides his mention of 'ஆதிபகவன்' clearly shows that he is a theist. Some opine that (by the word 'ஆதிபகவன்') he incidentally pays his respects to his parents since his mother's name was 'ஆதி' and father's name 'பகவன்'.

The words 'ஆதி' and 'பகவன்' are tadbhavas from the Sanskrit words 'आदि' and 'भगवान्'. The word 'உலகு' is taken to be a tadbhava of 'लोक' by some and an original Tamil word by others like Naccinārkkiniyar.

'அகரமுதல்' and 'ஆதிபகவன்முதற்றே' should be taken as two verbs derived from the possessive compounds 'அகரமுதல்' and 'ஆதிபகவன்முதல்'. Some try to split them as அகரம் and முதல் and ஆதிபகவன் and முதற்றே. In that case அகரம் and ஆதிபகவன் have respectively, to qualify முதல் contained in முதல் and முதல் in முதற்றே which is called एकदेशान्वय, which is one of the grave defects in composition. Such a defect cannot find a place in the work of such a great poet as Tiruvalluvar. Perhaps they so split them with the idea that a verb should not be derived from a compound noun. If it can be derived from a simple noun, it may as well be derived from a compound noun also since Tolkappianar himself sanctions it by his statement that a compound noun is treated for grammatical purposes in the same way as a simple noun. Cf. எல்லாத் தொகையு மொரு சொன்னடைய. (தொல். எச்சவியல், 24.) The idea contained in ஆதிபகவன் முதற்றேயலகு finds a parallel in the following statements made in Upaniṣads:— स्यादक्षरात्संभवतीह विश्वम् (Muṇḍaka 1, 1, 7.) 'सदेव सोम्य इदमग्र आसीत् (Chāndogya 6, 2, 1.) यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते (Taittiriya 3, 1.) and Vyāsa's Vedāntasūtra 'जन्माद्यस्य यतः'.

## THE NEW MĀYĀ ABOUT THE OLD MĀYĀ

BY

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.,

*Ag. District Judge, Tanjore.*

Nothing is more wonderful and magical than the illusion of modern western scholars about the doctrine of the Great World-Illusion. Some of them say that Śaṅkara invented the doctrine. Others say that he borrowed it from the Buddhists; yet others say that it was the result of the influence of the *Śūnya Vāda* of Buddhism. Indeed later orthodox critics belonging to rival schools of thought even called him and his followers *Pracchanna-Bauddhas* (hidden Buddhists).

The attempt to show that the word *Māyā* is not found in the Vedas and that hence the doctrine of *Māyā* is a later invention of a fine metaphysical brain is a kind of conjurer's trick—a bit of *Māyā* in fact. On the other hand the orthodox defenders of the theory of the Vedic source of the doctrine refer to the well-known verse इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते ॥. Putting these verbal juggleries aside, the Vedas—especially the Upaniṣadic portion—is penetrated through and through with the substance and essence of the *Māyā* doctrine. When in the *Īśāvāsya* Upaniṣad the sage prays,

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।

तत्त्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥

the face of Truth is hidden by the golden disc. O Pūṣan! remove it (the obscuring golden disc) so that I may have the vision of which the essence is Truth), what is it that he wants except the conquest and overthrow of *Māyā*? The same veil or obscuration is described by the term “the knot of the heart” (हृदयग्रन्थि) which is untied by the vision of the Supreme.

मिथ्यते हृदयग्रन्थिर्द्विच्छन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।

क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे ॥

Other words used are *Jāla* (magic), darkness (*Tamas*), unreality (*Adh-ruva*), etc. The Chāndogya expressly refers by the word अनृत (unreality or

untruth) to the obscuration of the Truth. The *Jāla*-idea is thus described in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad :

“एकैकं जालं बहुधा विकुर्यन् अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे संचरत्येष देवः ।

भूयः सृष्ट्वा यतयस्तथैषः सर्वाधिपत्यं कुरुते महात्मा ॥”

In the Chāndogya the approach towards the same idea comes in a different manner :

यथा सोम्य एकेन मृत्पिडेन सर्वं मृन्मयं विज्ञातं स्यात् वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् ॥

I may finally point out that the very words *Avidyā* and *Māyā* are found in the following famous passages in the Upaniṣads :

अविद्यायामन्तरे वर्तमानाः स्वयं धीराः पण्डितं मन्यमानाः ।

दंद्रम्यमाणाः परियन्ति मूढाः अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः ॥

(Kāṭha Upaniṣad).

तेषामसौ विरजो ब्रह्मलोको न येषु जिह्ममनुतं न माया चेति ॥

(Praśna Upaniṣad).

अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत् तस्मिंश्चान्यो मायया <sup>10</sup>संनिरुद्धः ॥

(Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad).

मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरं ॥

In the Bhagawad Gītā we find a perfect statement of the essence of the Vedic doctrine about the *Māyā*.

दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया ॥

It is thus clear that the doctrine of *Māyā*—nay, even the word *Māyā*—is to be found in our philosophy and religion from the earliest times. In fact the idea is of the essence of Hinduism. All that Śrī Śankarācārya did was only to give a consummately clear and convincing and comprehensive form and exposition to a doctrine which is as old as Hinduism and is of the very core and essence of Hinduism. *Māyā* is not nothingness, or unreality or non-existence or illusion. It is a succinct statement of that subordinate and secondary reality, *i.e.*, phenomenal reality, which is the sum-total of the refractions by the mind of the eternal, infinite, integral, white light of the Ātman and which, as the result of self-realisation, is found to be not a final and eternal reality, such noumenal and eternal reality being the Ātman and the Ātman alone,

## VṚTTIKĀRAGRANTHA.

BY

DR. A. SANKARAN.

*Assistant Professor, Presidency College, Madras.*

Śabarāsvāmin in his *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya* introduces by the words “वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेयं ग्रन्थं वर्णयांचकार तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिरित्येवमादिम्” a further interpretation of the *Sūtras* I-i-3 to 5, purporting to be that of a *Vṛttikāra*. It extends from p. 7 line 18, to p. 24 line 11 of the *Bhāṣya* (Bib. Ind. Edn.) *i.e.*, up to the end of the comments on *Sūtra* I-i-5. Professor H. Jacobi regards the text up to p. 18 line 6 *i.e.*, before the *ātmavāda* as a quotation from some *Vṛtti* and holds that its author is most probably *Bodhāyana*; for the two other possible *Vṛttikāras*, *Upavarṣa* and *Bhavadāsa* are easily eliminated. The former is mentioned in the passage referred to thus—“गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवान् उपवर्षः”. Will any one refer to himself in his own work as *Bhagavān* so and so? The latter is severely criticised in the *Śloka-vārtika*, *e.g.*, Ś. V. p. 12. verse 35, and the term ‘वृत्त्यन्तरेषु’ Ś. V. 1-33.—in different *Vṛttis*—is explained by *Pārthasārathi* as referring to *Bhavadāsa*. [See J. A. O. S., 1911. Date of the Philosophical *Sūtras*] Dr. Ganganath Jha, in a paper presented to the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad [Vide—Summaries of papers, pp. 80-1] holds on the basis of a valuable quotation from *Maṇḍanamisra*’s *Mīmāṃsānukramanīkā* “बह्वर्थं वक्तुक्ामेन तमर्थं सौत्रमिच्छता । वृत्तिकारमतेनेयं त्रिसूत्री वर्णयतेऽन्यथा ॥” that the ‘*Vṛttikāragrantha*’ starts with p. 7 line 18, and ends with the end of the *Bhāṣya* on *Sūtra* I-1-5., p. 24. line 11. He is not quite explicit whether the passage is a verbal quotation or only a statement of the views of the *Vṛttikāra*, but he appears to be inclined to accept the latter view. He is silent over the name of the *Vṛttikāra*. It is attempted in this paper to determine the extent of the ‘*Vṛttikāragrantha*’; its nature and authorship.

The ‘*Vṛttikāragrantha*’ is not a verbal quotation as Prof. Jacobi holds. For if it were so, it is very difficult to account for the presence, towards the end of the text on p. 17 just before the *ātmavāda*, of the following “बादरायणग्रहणमुक्तम्”. It means that the purpose of the word ‘*Bādarāyaṇa*’ in *Sūtra* I-1-5. has already been explained. Is this statement consistent with the view that the passage in question is a verbal citation from *Vṛttikāra*’s

work? No. Because, if only the Vṛttikāra has previously had an opportunity to explain the use of the word 'Bādarāyaṇa', could he say here that its purpose has already been indicated. This opportunity presents itself for the first time in the sequence of the Mīmāṃsā-sūtras in Sūtra-5 where 'Bādarāyaṇa' occurs as बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात्. On the other hand, this statement "that the purpose of the word 'Bādarāyaṇa' has already been explained" is quite intelligible, if we suppose that the passage in question is only a statement or a resume of the views of the Vṛttikāra in the words of Śābarasvāmin, for Śābara has already explained it just before the passage referred to thus:—बादरायणग्रहणं बादरायणस्येदं मतं कीर्त्यते, बादरायणं पूजयितुं, नाम्नीयं मतं पर्युदसितुम्। p. 7. and he can very well say later on, while interpreting the three sūtras according to the views of the Vṛttikāra, that "the purpose of the word 'Bādarāyaṇa' has already been explained".

Further, tradition is in accord with the view that the passage is only a resume of the interpretation of the Sūtras I-i-3 to 5, given by the Vṛttikāra. The verse बह्वर्थं वक्तुकामेन etc., cited by Dr. Jha from Maṇḍana's Mīmāṃsā-nukramaṇikā clearly states that Śābarasvāmin, desirous of speaking of many topics and of obtaining them all from the Sūtras, interprets the three Sūtras, I-i-3 to 5 according to the views of the Vṛttikāra. [The agent of वर्ण्यते is वक्तुकाम who is Śābarasvāmin]. Pārthasārathi also says in his Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda, p. 48. (Nirṇayasagar edition) that the Bhāṣyakāra explains the Sūtras 3 to 5 differently in accordance with the views of the Vṛttikāra-Upavarṣa. वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेदं वर्णयांचकारेत्येवमादिना उपवर्षमतेन तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिरित्येवमादिसूत्रत्रयमन्यथा कृत्वा व्याचष्टे भाष्यकारः। p. 48. The commentary of Rāmakaṣṇa also supports this view.

Who may be this Vṛttikāra whose views are so elaborately set forth by Śābarasvāmin? Prof. Jacobi holds, as already stated, that it is Bodhāyana and not Upavarṣa. His main reason which necessitated this conclusion is the presence of the word 'Upavarṣa' in a passage presumed to be a quotation. We have shown that the passage is not a quotation and so it does not, in any manner, militate against the assumption that the Bhāṣyakāra, while expounding the views of the Vṛttikāra, cites, in an important place, his very words besides mentioning his honoured name. Further Pārthasārathi, in the extract cited above from his Śāstradīpikā, Tarkapāda p. 48. gives the name of the Vṛttikāra as Upavarṣa [उपवर्षमतेन].

What is the extent of this Vṛtti? Dr. Jha thinks that it ends with the end of the exposition of the nature of Ātman *i.e.*, up to p. 24 line 11; but Prof. Jacobi omits the ātmanirūpaṇa from that text. We have the high and indisputable authority of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya to support the view that the Vṛttikāramata ended before the ātmanirūpaṇa. For he says on B. S. III-iii-53 the following.—

ननु शास्त्रप्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे शास्त्रफलोपभोगयोग्यस्य देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽ-  
स्तित्वमुक्तम् । सत्यमुक्तं भाष्यकृता । न तु तत्रात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति । इह तु स्वयमेव सूत्रकृता  
तदस्तित्वमाक्षेपपुरःसरं प्रतिष्ठापितम् । इत एव च आकृष्य आचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाण-  
लक्षणे वर्णितम् । अत एव च भगवता उपवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे आत्मास्तित्वामिधानप्रसक्तौ शरीरके  
वक्ष्याम इत्युद्धारः कृतः । Note the last sentence. The great Ācārya says here  
that as there was no Sūtra in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā [अत एव — सूत्राभावादेव]  
the revered Upavarṣa refrained from establishing the existence of the Soul  
when the occasion for it arose saying that he would do it in the Śārīraka-  
mīmāṃsā and Śabarasvāmin it was that expounded the nature of the Soul  
as different from the body and as the subject of all enjoyments, earthly and  
otherwise. This is further supported by Kumārila who says that Śabara,  
desiring to refute the nihilistic doctrines of the Buddhists, establishes, by  
means of reasoning, the existence of the Soul. इत्याह नास्तिक्य निराकरि-  
ष्णुरात्मास्तितां भाष्यकृदत्र युक्त्या । Ś. V. p. 727. Again, Pārthasārathi in the  
Nyāyaratnākara also throws his weight in favour of the above view when he  
says that the Bhāṣyakāra explains the nature of the Soul as distinct from the  
body and knowledge by the words begining “कोऽसावन्यः” (S. B. p. 18.)  
“भाष्यकारेण ‘कोसावन्यः’ इत्यादिना ज्ञानदेहातिरिक्तात्मप्रतिपादनं कृतम्” . Ś. V. p. 689.  
Thus it is clear that the ātmanirūpaṇa is Śabara’s and that the Vṛttikāramata  
ends before it. And the ‘बह्वर्थ’—many topics—referred to in the verse cited  
above should be taken to be contained in the passage before the ātmanirū-  
paṇa and not to include that also as Dr. Jha believes.

But the following sentence from the extract cited above from the  
Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of Śaṅkara may be utilised to argue in favour of the posi-  
tion taken up by Dr. Jha, “इत एव चाकृष्य आचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे  
वर्णितम्” It is quite possible that though Śabara does not summarise the  
views of the Vṛttikāra on the nature of the Soul as stated in the Pūrva



Mīmāṃsā as there is no corresponding Vṛtti in the Pūrvatantra, he may have taken them from Upavaṣa's Vṛtti on the Brahmasūtras. But there is no definite proof to warrant such a construction of the text which means only that Śabara took his ideas for the ātmanirūpaṇa from this section in the Brahmasūtras and not necessarily from the Vṛtti which Upavaṣa wrote on the Brahmasūtras.

Thus the upshot of the foregoing discussion is that the so-called 'Vṛttikāragrantha' is only a resume, that it extends up to P, 18. line 6. or that it ends before the ātmanirūpaṇa and that the Vṛttikāra referred to is the revered Upavaṣa.

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## THE AGE OF THE NĀYANĀRS

BY

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A.,

*Lecturer in History, Vizianagaram.*

In this article the dates of the 63 Śaiva saints are determined with the aid of Tevāram and Periyapurāṇam. Roughly, most of them lived in the period of Pallava supremacy 600-900 A. D. All the 62 are mentioned by Sundarar a saint of the 9th century A. D. and including him the total comes to the well-known 63.

The lives of the 63 are described by Śēkkiḷār, a Veḷḷāla, in Periyapurāṇam which was written at the instance of his king. Umāpati Śivācārya who mentions Śaka 1235 as the date of one of his works<sup>1</sup> has written the story of Śēkkiḷār where he tells us that the Purāṇam was composed in order to turn the attention of the Cola from Jivakacintāmaṇi a Jain epic to the real stories of the Śaiva devotees. Śēkkiḷār was his minister and as such he had all the sources of information to compile the great work. In his book Śēkkiḷār refers often to his king and patron by the surname of Anapāya<sup>2</sup> and calls him Abhaya and Kulōttuṅga also.<sup>3</sup> Umāpati refers to Śēkkiḷār's patron as ruler of all the land between the Himālayas and Rameśwaram which will eminently suit Kulōttuṅga.<sup>4</sup> Inscriptional evidence is also clear on the point that by the time of Vikrama Cōla and Kulōttuṅga II the stories of the Purāṇa were current and familiar.<sup>5</sup> If Śēkkiḷār was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I, he lived in the 11th century A.D.

The chief sources for Periyapurāṇam besides traditions, were Nambi's Tiruttonḍar Tiruvandādi and Tēvāram or the garland (of psalms) of God sung by Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, an Ādi-Śaiva, besides writing the Āṇḍādi, compiled the Tēvaram<sup>6</sup> which was rapidly being lost. Umāpati mentions Rāja Rāja Abhaya as the patron of Nambi.

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1. Ind. Antiq. Vol. 25, Age of Sambandha by Sundaram Pillai.

2. Periyapurāṇam I, பாயிரம்.

3. Do. I, சண்டேசநாயனார் புராணம்.

4. இம்பர்புகழ் வளவனர சுரிமைச் செங்கோ விமசேது பரியந்த மியற்று நாளில்

5. Tiruvārūr Ins. S. i. i.

6. S. .i. Vol. II, P. II, No. 38; P. III, No. 65; Vol. III, P. I, Nos. 43, 139 & 151.

There is clear inscriptional evidence from before the reign of Rāja Rāja I, that Tēvāram was sung in temples.<sup>1</sup> So whether Nambi was a contemporary of Rāja Rāja I, or one of his predecessors it is clear that he lived in the 10th century A.D. just a century before Śēkkiḷār.

Nambi's Andādi is a fragmentary sketch of the lives of the 63 which was itself based on Sundarar's hymn<sup>2</sup> already mentioned which is but a string of names save for the mention of a few incidents in the lives of some. Sundara, an Ādi-Śaiva youth, one of the three authors of Tēvāram, lived about a century before the age of Nambi. He has sung of saint Kaḷarcingan in the present tense<sup>3</sup> from which we may legitimately infer that he was his contemporary. Śēkkiḷār calls him a conqueror and annexer of the Northern (Deccan) King's land. Sundara praises Kaḷarcingan as the guardian of the world. In another hymn he hints at his king surrounded by tributary princes.<sup>4</sup> Again he refers to an attempt on the part of his vassals to stop their tribute.<sup>5</sup> Once even a combination of the vassals is suggested against which saint and general Kōṭṭipuli played a part.<sup>6</sup> Who was this King then? We know for certain that Sundara lived after<sup>7</sup> Appar and Sambandhar (7th century). The suggestion that tribute was not regularly paid to the Pallava may lead us to infer that Sundara lived in the time of the later Pallavas. There are two great Śaiva devotees among the Pallavas after about 650 A.D. Narasiḥmavarman II, and Nandi III, either of whom might have been Sundara's King. The former was very powerful and unopposed while the latter had to contend against many enemies. He successfully

1. VII Tīrumurai, திருத்தொண்டத்தொகை.

2. *Ibid.* கடல்குழந்த உலகெலாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர் கோன் கழர் சிங்கன்.

3. VII ஏதிர்கொள்பாடி.

மத்தயானை யேறிமன்னர் குழவருவீர்களர்

4. VII கோயில்,

உரிமையாற் பல்லவர்க்குத் திறைகொடா மன்னவரை மறுக்கஞ்செய்யும்.

5. VII, நாட்டியத்தான் குடி,

கூடாமன்னரைக் கூட்டத்துவென்ற கொடிநன் கோட்புலி

6. There are now 796 hymns which tradition asserts are only a fragment of the original composition. Of the extant hymns Appar has sung 312, Sambandhar 384 and Sundarar 100.

7. Cf. IV, நல்லூர்—Appar mentions a miracle of Sundara? ஆற்றிற்கெடுத்துக் குளத்தினித்தேடி . . . just like his நரிபரி செய்வான். There are old sayings and have no historical value.

overcame his foes and in recognition of his heroism came to be known as Nandi of Tēlḷāru. So he was a real Kālārcingan. So it is not unlikely that Sundara was his contemporary. Again, the three, Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍya are mentioned as having met together in Pāṇḍya.<sup>1</sup> Śēkkiḷār affirms that the Cōḷa was the son-in-law of the Pāṇḍya and was then living in his father-in-law's house.<sup>2</sup> The Cōḷa power revived from the time of Vijayālaya and if the suggestion of the weak Cōḷa above is correct, he must have lived before Vijayālaya. Cēramān-Perumāḷ the Cera king was a powerful king according to Śēkkiḷār who even calls him overlord of the three.<sup>3</sup> He must have lived only before Vijayālaya.

12 out of the 63 were contemporaries of Sundara. His father Śaḍaiyanār and mother Isaijñāni were two. Sundara calls himself in some hymns the child of Śaḍaiyan.<sup>4</sup> His patron Narasingamunaiyar lord of Tirumunaipadi is specially mentioned in a hymn.<sup>5</sup> Cēramānperumāḷ who is associated with the beginning of the Kollam era and who is mentioned in the Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇa as a contemporary of Varaguṇa (a name found in Pāṇḍya inscriptions of this period) was an intimate friend of Sundara and both went on a round of temple visits in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya. Kālārcingan has been mentioned already and identified with Nandi III. Śirutuṇai lord of Potta Tañjai (in Pattukotta Taluk) was a contemporary of Kālārcingan according to Śēkkiḷār. Koṭṭuli a general is warmly praised by Sundara for having defeated a combination of kings who rarely joined together.<sup>6</sup> His two daughters were adopted by Sundara as his children and in not a few hymns he calls himself with delight the father of those two girls.<sup>7</sup> Kurumban chief of Miḷalai and Somasimaran were ardent devotees of Sundara. The stories of Kalikkamān and Viṛanmiṇḍun make us infer that they too were

1. VII, கோத்திட்டையும் கோவலாரும்—முடியாலுலகாண்டமுவேந்தர் முன்னே மொழிந்தாறு மோர்நான்கும்.

2. Periya II, p. 695.

3. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 839 & 842.

4. VII, நன்னிலம்—சேடியல் சிங்கிதந்தை சடையன் திருவாழான்

,, வாழொளிபுத்தூர்—சடையன் காதலன் வனப்பகையப்பன்.....நங்கை சிங்கிடிதந்தை.

5. VII, வெண்ணெய்நல்லாரும் நாவலாரும்—நாதனுக்கூர் நமக்கூர் நாசிங்க முனையரையன் ஆதரித்தீசனுக்காட்செயுமார்.....

6. *Ibid.*, VII, நாட்டியத்தான் குடி.

7. *Ibid.*, VII, நன்னிலம் & வாழொளிபுத்தூர்.

contemporaries of Sundara. Manakkañjaran was the father-in-law of Kalikkamān.

Likewise 10 saints can be grouped round Sambandha as his contemporaries. The age of Śambandha has been fixed in the 7th century by the late Mr. P. Sundaram Pilli. The most important of the arguments adduced in favour of this date is the Śiruttoṇḍa-synchronism. According to Periyapurāṇam, Śiruttoṇḍa, an elephant commander, took part in the destruction of Vātāpi the Capital of his King's enemy. The destruction of Vātāpi is associated by Pallava inscriptions as a great achievement of Narasimhavarman I. There is evidence in Tēvāram itself to prove that Śiruttoṇḍar and Sambandhar were contemporaries<sup>1</sup> and Śēkkiḷār a critical student and writer tells us the same.

A cursory reading of Tēvāram will only confirm the above conclusion. It is very curious how inscriptions have come to our help to establish the truthfulness of the statements in Tēvāram. Sundara, Nambi and Śēkkiḷār write that Sambandhar and Appar were contemporaries. Though there is no distinct statement to that effect in the hymns of either, tradition is very strong on the point. The story of Appar mentions the conversion of his king from Jainism into Śaivism. Appar himself mentions this in a hymn.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptional evidence has been utilised to establish that his king was Mahēndravarmān I. Śēkkiḷār tells us how Appar's sister's betrothed Kalipagai fought with his king's northern enemy who invaded his realm and lost his life. Is it a reference to the war in and loss of Vengi? Appar's king was a powerful king and once God himself is called Kaḍavan<sup>3</sup> (*i. e.*) Pallava. From other circumstances we have to infer that Appar was a contemporary of Narasimha I also. For Appar lived to a ripe old age and must have been a contemporary of more than two kings. Among some of the names of Śiva in Appar's hymns are Nandi<sup>4</sup> and Rājacingan<sup>5</sup> or Lion among Kings. The latter may contain an indirect hint to his King Nara-cinga or Lion among men.

1. I, செங்காட்டங்குடி, கணபதிச்வரம்.

III, Do. வெந்தநீறனிமார்பன் அனுத்தொண்டனவன்வேண்ட

2. VI, தனி-திருத்தாண்டகம்—மன்னனாய் மன்னவர்க் கோரமுதமாலாய்

3. VI, கஞ்சனூர்—கிறிபேசி மடவார்பெய் வளைக்கொள்ளும் காடவனை.

4. IV, ஐயாறு-பழந்தக்கராகம் ; கோயிற்றிரு விருத்தம்-கொல்லி ; பூந்துருத்தி.

5. IV, பாவநாசப்பதிகம்—எழிலாராச அங்கத்தையி ராமேச்சுரத் தெமெழி

The hymns of Sambandha are much more useful to a historian. Such names of Śiva as Nandi,<sup>1</sup> Ayyan,<sup>2</sup> Adīśayan,<sup>3</sup> and Paramēśvaran<sup>4</sup> also occur and they might contain hints about his King or Kings. In fact Vicitracitta is a surname of Mahēndra I, while Paramēśvara was the name of Narasimha's successor. Atyanta,<sup>5</sup> a surname of Narasimha I, and 2nd also occurs in another hymn.

No Cōla names occur except Ceṅgan. The reference to Karikāla is doubtful.<sup>6</sup> But in a Brahmapuram (Shiyāli) hymn the history of Shiyāli is sketched. There was a ruler Dharma<sup>7</sup> (Manu?) after whom came the flood. Then ruled a Valavan, powerful Caṇḍan, and Nāgaraiyan successively.<sup>8</sup> Finally one Nandan<sup>9</sup> seems to have risen and ruled in and round Shiyāli. Apparently this Nandan was an intruder and a contemporary of Sambandha. As Sambandha exhorts those who want to become kings to worship at Shiyāli<sup>10</sup> it is more than probable that Nanda was a Śaiva devotee. That there was a Cōla king in the Cōla land in Sambandha's days is certain. Besides the evidence of inscription, Tēvāram calls Maṅgai a Śaiva Saint and Pāṇḍya Queen, the daughter of the Cōla

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1. I, இல்மபையங்கோட்டூர்—கழுமலமென்னு நந்தியாருறைபதி  
I, நல்லம்—நந்திநமையாள் வான்நல்லந் நகரானே.
  - 2 & 3. III, விற்கோலம்—ஐயனல்லதிசயனயன் விண்ணோர்தொழும்
  4. I, பழனம்—பெம்மானெமையாளும்  
பரமன் பகவன் பரமேச்சுவான் பழனநகராரே.
  5. II, ஆமாத்தூர்—அச்சந்தன்மா தேவிக்நீந்தான்.
  6. II, ஏகம்பம்.
  7. I, பிரமடூர்,  
செங்கோலநடா விப்பல்லுயிர்க்குஞ் செய்வினமெய்தெரிய  
வெங்கோத்தருமன்மேவியாண்ட.....
  8. *Ibid.* பொருதேர் வலவன் மேவியாண்ட  
தவர்செய் நெடுவேற்சண்டனா  
கழல் நாகரையன் காவலாக
  9. *Ibid.* நடடார்நடுவே நந்தனா நல்வினயாலுயர்ந்த
  10. III, பூந்தராய்—வேந்தராயுலகாள் விருப்பமுறிற்  
I, புறவம்—வேந்தன்சேர் தருமதூர்



King.<sup>1</sup> There is more than one reference to the three Tamil kings<sup>2</sup> and once they are said to be united,<sup>3</sup> against whom it is not known. In the hymns of Ārūr,<sup>4</sup> Panaiyur,<sup>5</sup> and Miḷalai<sup>6</sup> the Gods are said to be visited and worshipped by Kings whom we may take as Cōḷa Kings. In Periyapurāṇam, Kuṅgiliyar of Kaḍaiyūr, a saint of Sambandhar's days is said to have performed a miracle at the request of his king at Tirupanandāḷ or Tāṭakēśvaram. But who was this Nanda of Shiyali? As yet we know of only one Nanda in the South, Sundara Nanda of Koilulagu and Ceded Districts Cōḷa inscriptions. According to the latter he may be roughly assigned to the 7th century A.D.

Ten saints, it was said, belonged to the age of Sambandha, the boy saint. Appar was the greatest among them. He was Sambandhar's elder contemporary. Appar sings of Appoti's devotion.<sup>7</sup> Mangai the Cōḷa princess and Pāṇḍya Queen is praised by Sambandha.<sup>8</sup> In the same hymn Kulaccirai (called by Nambi as minister of the Pāṇḍya who established the Śāṅgam)<sup>9</sup> is praised as devoted to all Śaiva devotees. Neḍumāran, called Kūn<sup>10</sup> when he was a Jain, is nowhere mentioned by name except by Sundara as he who won at Nelvēli. Still a contemporary Pāṇḍya, the husband of Mangai is mentioned by Sambandha in 3 or 4 hymns<sup>11</sup> and associated with his miracles

1. III, ஆலவாய்—

மங்கையர்க்கரசி வளவர்கோன்பாவை.....

மண்ணெலாநிகழ மன்னனும்மன்னுமணி முடிச்சோழன் மகளாம்.

2. I, பூவணம்—முறையால் முடிசேர் தென்னர்சோர் சோழர்கடாம் வணங்கும்  
—Cf. V, இன்னம்பர்.

3. I முக்கீச்வரம்—Also Pāṇḍyan supremacy is suggested there.—Cf. Śēk, II  
p. 775—the Pāṇḍya wore the வாகை of his enemy with his own வேம்பு.

4. IV, ஆநூர்—மன்னவர் கின்னார்.....

5. I, பனையூர்—அடியார்தொழ மன்னவரேத்த

6. III, மிழலை—வேந்தர்வந் திறைஞ்ச....Miḷalai was apparently an important place, Capital of the Nāḍu of the name and full of Vedic Brahmins.

7. IV, பழனம்—அஞ்சிப்போய்க் கலிமெலிய வழலோம்புப்பூதி

8. *Ibid.* III, ஆலவாய்.

9. சங்கம்வைத்த பெருந்தமிழ் மீனவன்தன திகாரி.

10. Cf. IV, கோயில்—ஊனத்தை நீக்கியலகறிய யாட்கொண்டவன்

11. III, ஆலவாய்—கொல்லி—துளங்கும் முடித்தென்னவன் முன்னிவை.

„ நள்ளாறு—கொற்றவனெ திரிடை யெரியினிலிட விவைகூறிய

„ கழுமலம்—பருமதின் மதுரை மன்னவையெதிரே.

II, ஆலவாய்—தென்னறுடலுற்ற தீப்பிணியாயினதீர

III, „ —கௌகிகம்—சுடர்பையவே சென்று பாண்டியற்காகவே

at Madura. The constant companion of Sambandha in his itineraries was Yālpānar the fiddler mentioned in his Tēvāram.<sup>1</sup> Śiruttōṇḍa the famous general of Narasiḥma entertained the boy saint in his native place and the latter has sung a hymn on a temple built by the former. Murukar,<sup>2</sup> Nilanakkār<sup>3</sup> and Kuṇḡiliyar also entertained Sambandha though his Tēvāram mentions only the 1st two.

From the evidences supplied by Tēvāram and Periyapurāṇam some of the 63 saints can be assigned to the centuries before Sambandha. Caṇḍi one of the Pañcamūrtis constantly referred to by Tēvāram is so ancient as to be lost in myths.<sup>4</sup> Kāraikālpēy was another very old saint. Śēkkiḷār says that Sambandha was afraid of treading the holy ground of Ālaṅḡādu made sacred by Pēy.<sup>5</sup> Her story illustrates the early associations of orgies of self-torture with Śiva worship. Kaṇṇappa, the hunter youth, whose story more than any other brings home to our minds the spontaneous nature of bhakti, constantly receives high praise in Tēvāram.<sup>6</sup> Ceṅgan 7th the famous Cōḷa king who ruled over Pāṇḍinādu also according to Sundara, is praised in a poem traditionally assigned to the Śāṅgam period but probably belonging to about the 4th or 5th century A. D. He seems to have built several big temples, big for those days. In fact many of the temples which are described as big in Tēvāram may be taken as Ceṅgan's.<sup>8</sup> If we admit that temples and

1. III, ஆலவாய்—இயமகம்—தாரமுய்த்தது பாணற்கருளோடே.

Does this refer to பாணபத்ரன்?

2. II, புகலூர்—தொண்டர் தண்கயமூழ்கித் துணையலுஞ் சாந்தமும் புகையுங்  
கொண்டுகொண்டடி பரவிக்குறிப்பறி முருகன் செய்கோலம்.

3. III, சாத்தமங்கை—நிறையினார் நீலநக்கனெடுமா நகரென்று தொண்டர்

4. I, சேய்ஞலூர் E IV குறுக்கை, page 61.

5. I, ஆலங்காடு contains a hint in the 1st two lines.

6. III, கயிலாயம், ஆனைக்கா, etc., and IV, திருக்குறுக்கை, p. 61.

7. II, ஆனைக்கா, IV, திருக்குறுக்கை, p. 61.

8. I, புகலியும் வீழிமிழலையும்—மிழலைவிண்ணிழி கோயில் விரும்பியதே  
திருப்புத்தூர்—ஒங்கு கோயிலுறைவாரவர் போலும்  
நறையூர்—இலங்குங்கோபுரந்  
தீண்டுமதியந்திகழு நறையூர்

II, கருப்பறியலூர்—its temple called கொகுடிக்கோயில் apparently a type of building.

களர்—நீடுயர் கோபுரங்கள்

தலைச்சங்காடு of செங்கனையகேசுவரர்—சேயோங்கு கோயில்

Cf. VI, வீழிமிழலை—தலைச்சங்கை பெருங்கோயில்.

temple worship were very familiar in the Tamil land in the 7th century A.D., then it is an easy inference that Tirumūlar who rendered the truths of the Āgamas into Tamil for the first time lived long before the age of Sambandha. Sambandha visited about 230 and Appar about 100 temples. These could not have been raised in a day. Śākkiyan is another old saint. He lived when Kāñci was fully Buddhist and there is a reference to him in a hymn of Appar.<sup>1</sup>

Nambinandi<sup>2</sup> whose contemporary was Tanḍi,<sup>3</sup> and Kanampullan<sup>4</sup> are two others mentioned by Sambandhar and Appar. Of them it can only be said that they lived before the age of Sambandha. Śēkkiḷār does not put them as his contemporaries. Mūrti Nāyanār is placed by Nambi and Śēkkiḷār at the end of Kalabhra rule in Madura. According to the latter, the Vaḍuga-Karnāṭa king or the Kalabhra died without issue and Mūrti was chosen to succeed him. He was a stop-gap king till the return of the Pāṇḍya (Kaḍuṅgon?). During this interval which was not short, Mūrti was very powerful. Pāṇḍya inscriptions place this Kalabhra rule about the 6th century. Probably another saint Puḡaḷ Tunaiś also lived before Sambandha as the main incident of his story is apparently referred to in a hymn of the second Tirumurai.

As some information is available about Puḡaḷ Cōḷa, his date is worth investigating. His contemporary was Eripattan. Śēkkiḷār places him after Karikāla who fixed the tiger mark on the Himālaya. He was the earliest ancestor of Anapāya. His capitals were Uraiyūr and Karūr. Koṅgu

நல்லூர்—வானமருங்கோயில்

முல்லைவாயில்—அணிகோபுரங்களழகார்

III, அரதைப்பெரும்பாழி—a big temple, Buddhist in origin or style ?

மயேந்திரபள்ளி—கொண்டல் சேர்கோபுரங் கோலமார் மானிகை

Cengan is said to have built about 78 temples—VI, திரு அடைவு.

They were called Perunkōyil.

1. IV, திருக்குறுக்கை p. 61, & VI, வீழிமிழலை, p. 73. See Mr. S. Deśikar's critical note on my article on அறுபத்துமூவர்களின் காலம் in Pañcāmṛtam.

2. I, கோளிலி—நாவியில்சீர் நமிநந்தியடிகளுக்கு நல்குமவன்

IV, திருவாரூர்—நம்பிநந்தி நீராற்றிருவிளக்கிட்டமை....

3. II, பிரம்புரம்—தண்டிக்கருளிலர் போலும் may refer to Caṇḍi.

4. IV, திருக்குறுக்கை, p. 62. & IV, கழிப்பாலை.

5. II, அரகிற்புத்தூர்—அலந்தவடியான நறைக்கண்ணோர்கா செய்தி

புலந்தகாலை மலை போற்றும் புத்தூரே.

and Kuḍagu paid him tribute. He fought with an Āḍigan chief of Malaināḍu. So he was a powerful king. Sundara says he died at Karūr. <sup>1</sup> Which was the age of Puḡāḷ Cōḷa ?

There are two other saints Gaṇanāthan and Pūśal about whose dates we know a little. The former is said to have always worshipped Smbandha ; so he must have lived sometime after the boy saint. Curiously the incident of an Aśarīri speaking to the Kaḍava king, referred to in Pūśalar Purāṇa, is mentioned in the Kailāsanātha inscription <sup>2</sup> of Rājasihma or Narasihma II. Śēkkiḷār says that the powerful Kaḍava contemporary of Pūśal built a stone temple at Kāñci and who else can he be but Rājasihma the builder of the Kailasanātha temple ? <sup>3</sup>

We cannot even guess about the dates of the remaining 24 saints whose stories contain no clue for the purpose. Most of them probably lived in the period between Sambandha and Sundara. However a few more like Iyaṛpahai, Kari, Aiyadigaḷ and Meyporuḷ might have lived before the former. Śēkkiḷār who must have been well-versed in the history of Puhar mentions a forest between Puhar and Kayavanam which could not have existed there after the age of Karikāḷa. That is however only slender evidence with which to fix the age of Iyaṛpahai. Kari a friend of the 3 Tamil kings built many temples with their aid and the age before Sambandha was the great age of temple building in the South. Aiyadigaḷ or Āryavarman the Pallava king was a powerful king. Umāpati classifies him and Kaḷarcingan who is extolled by Sundara as an Emperor, as chiefs, for, being far removed from the Pallava period he was quite ignorant of the Pallava greatness and would not consider any but a Cōḷa, Cēra, or Pāṇḍya as a king, for that was the traditional way. But Śēkkiḷār had a sound knowledge of history. Aiyadigaḷ was born at Kāñci and was a conqueror. Umāpati also calls him a conqueror. He annexed his enemies' lands. He visited many temples after abdicating the throne in favour of his son. There is a Gaṅga Āryavarman who in all probability took his name from his Pallava overlord. According to the Penukonda plates the Pallava was the overlord of the Gangas of whom some adopted Pallava names. If so, our Āryavarman must have lived about the fifth century.

1. கருஜர் தஞ்சைய புகழ்ச்சோழன் VII, தொண்டத்தொகை

2. S. i. i., No. 24.

3. Of course, V, கோயில் of Appar—நினைப்பவர் மனங்கோயிலாக் கொண்டவன் has no reference to Pūśal's story.

Meyporul lord of Cōdi and a conqueror of his neighbours with his capital at Tirukoilūr<sup>1</sup> was descended from the Śāṅgam Malaiyaman. He is related by Appāmalai (Śatakam<sup>2</sup>, a very late work) to the Munaiyar of the lowlands, but nothing definite can be said about his date. Kūrūvan<sup>3</sup> lord of Kaḷandai near Kāñci, an adventurer, conquered all the kings and claimed Cōḷa Crown at the hands of the Brahmins of Tillai who seem to have been particularly attached to the Cōḷa throne. This must have happened when the Cōḷa and Pallava powers were at a low ebb.

Idangalai is another figure about whom some interesting facts are told but not sufficient to fix his age. He was a Velir chief of Koḍumbalūr who with the Muttaraiyars shared the western and southern parts of the Cōḷa Nāḍu in the Pallava period. These chiefs of Koḍumbalūr like the Gangas and Bāṇas are as old as the Śāṅgam age. Idangalai was a big vassal of the Cōḷa or he was related to the later Cōḷas as their ancestor.<sup>5</sup> The passage in question can bear different interpretations. In fact Umāpati refers to him as descended from Ādittan who gold-plated Perūr in Koṅgu.<sup>4</sup> Śēkkiḷār calls him the ancestor of him who gold-plated Tillai<sup>6</sup> (in Koṅgu).

It may be incidentally remarked here that the Government of the period of Tēvāram was more or less a Government by vassals at the head of whom was the King or Emperor. The stories of Meyporul, Kūrūvan Munaiyar, Kurumban, Idangalai, Śirutuṇai all chiefs establish the point beyond doubt. The Maḷavas<sup>7</sup> are another feudatory family—a princess of which figures in Sambandha's story but finds no mention in Tēvāram. The Maḷavas are however mentioned with the Kalabhras in Pallava inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

The list of Sundara does not follow a chronological or any other order. He has cared more for exigencies of metre. His choice of the saints also is arbitrary. For who will deny an equal place to Sambandha's father or Appar's sister? In stanza 9, curiously enough, Sundara mentions only contemporary saints with the doubtful exception of Puḡaḷ Tuṇai.

1. II. கோவலூர்—குடைகொள் வேந்தன்முதலாத குழகன் கோவலூர்.
2. Mr. Raghavaiyengar's Vañjimānagar, p. 14—Meyporul & Munaiyar were brothers according to the Śatakam.
3. வேற்கூற்றன் VII, தொண்டத்தொகை.
4. ஆதித்தன் புகழ்மரபில் குடிமுதலோன்
5. கொங்கிற் செம்பொன்னேற்றார் மன்றின் முகடம்பொன்மேயந்த வாதித்தன்மரபோர்.
6. II, 786.
7. மழவர்.
8. e.g., Kāśakudi plates, S. i, i, II, III.

श्रीः  
॥ कालिदासीयं दर्शनम् ॥

By

VEDĀNTĀLANKĀRA

T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSITAR, VEDĀNTA ŚĪROMANI  
Professor of Vedānta Sanskrit College, Myslapore.

यः परस्तान्मनोवाचां तं कविं काव्यवर्त्मना ।

अञ्जसा ध्वनिभव्येन भावयामो यथारुचि ॥

इदं तावत् कविकाव्यसंशीलने परिस्फुटं चकास्ति यथा—को जीवः? कः प्रपञ्चः? क ईश्वरः? कथं संसारगमनम्? तन्निवृत्तेर्वा निबन्धनं केनोपायेन लभ्यते तत्त्वविज्ञानम्? यावच्च तन्नोदेति तावत् कथमाचरितव्यं प्रेयःप्रेप्सुभिरैहिकमामुष्मिकं चाभ्युदयसाधनमिति-चैवमादि तत्त्वदर्शनानुबन्धि किमप्यस्ति भावस्थितं सन्देष्टव्यं महाकवीनामिति । तदवश्यविधेये सर्वेषां कविदर्शनानां परीक्षणे, यस्य प्रतिभाप्रसरः क्रान्तदर्शनं च, मन्यामहे, विषयेऽस्मिन् सर्वानतिशेते अन्येष्विव काव्यगोचरेषु; तस्यैव महाकवेः श्रीकालिदासस्य दर्शनं प्रथममि-  
हानुक्रम्यते ।

ये तु पुनरनुशेते कथं नु नामेदृशो गहनतरविचारसंप्रधारणीयः तत्त्वानां भावभूमा सरससरलेषु काव्येषु निविशेत । अक्लिष्टमतयः सहृदया वा केवलशास्त्रगम्यमिममर्थं कथमञ्जसा प्रतिपद्येरन्निति । तैर्नूनं नास्त्रादितानि तत्त्वप्रधानानि, अथ च सुकुमारतराणि महाकविभिः प्रणीतानि काव्यानि । किं बहुना । यावद्यावदलौकिकं दर्शनमाविस्तरां व्यज्यते, तावानयं काव्यानां प्रकर्षः; नैव वा तानि काव्यात्मानं लभन्ते, येभ्योऽलौकिका भावा न स्वयमुन्मिषन्तीति अद्यतनास्सर्वे आज्जलविमर्शका एकवाक्येन काव्यलक्षणं प्रतिपन्नाः ।

परिच्छिद्यतां वा कैश्चिदेवमनुशयानैः काव्यस्य गोचरो देशान्तरस्यैः । येषां पुन-  
र्भारतीयानां पृथग्जनसाधारण्यलौकिकार्थसंविधानैकताना स्वरसवाहिनी दैवी संपत्, तेषां नैव नः किञ्चित्परिहास्यते । तदवश्यं प्रेक्षावद्विजिज्ञासितं कवेर्दर्शनं निरूपणीयम् ।

अपिच भारतीयरूपकपरीक्षणोद्यतः कीत्<sup>1</sup>—नामा विमर्शकवरः कालिदासस्य काव्यानि आलोचयन्नेवं ब्रवीति—न किल विमृश्यमानेषु कवेरस्य काव्येषु कश्चित्तत्त्वदर्शनसङ्गतो लोकयात्रासामान्यसंगतो वा सन्देशः प्रतिभाति.....इति । यथायमेतस्य विमर्शो विमर्श-



मात्रं, न सम्यग्विमर्शः, तथा प्रपञ्चनाय च कालिदासस्य तत्त्वदर्शनपर्यन्तगताः सूक्तीस्समीक्ष्य तदीयं दर्शनं प्रस्तूयते ।

तत्र तत्त्वानुशासनस्य यः परं पर्यवसानं, तमौपनिषदं पुरुषं प्राधान्येनोपश्लोकयितु-  
कामः कविः वेदान्तवाक्येषु तथाश्रद्धानतया प्रतिपादनप्रक्रमेणापि तमेव श्रुतिदृष्टं पन्थान-  
मनुगच्छन् रघुकुमारयोः पुरुषोत्तमं चतुर्मुखं महेश्वरं चाधिकृत्य देवानां सप्तर्षीणां च स्तुति-  
रूपास्तिस्रो गीता निबबन्ध । आसु चतुर्मुखस्तुतिगतानि पद्यान्यादाय तद्व्याख्यानानुप्रसङ्गेनैव  
तदन्येषामपि पद्यानां तात्पर्यं चिन्तयिष्यामः ।

पद्यरत्नान्यमूनि प्रतिभया बुद्ध्यावालिख्य हृदयेन पुनरवमृशन् अन्तः ह्लादमान  
इव कविरयं श्रोतृणामवधानाय तेष्वात्मनो बहुमानबन्धोपन्यासपूर्वं ब्रह्मस्तुतिमवतारयति—

अथ विश्वस्य धातारं ते सर्वे सर्वतोमुखम् ।

वागीशं वाग्भिरर्थ्याभिः प्रणिपत्योपतस्थिरं ॥ (कु. २. ३.) इति ।

अत्राहंपूर्वमहंपूर्वमिति ब्रह्माणं नमश्चिकीर्षतामपि देवानां पर्यायेण प्रणिपतनाद-  
निवार्यः कियानपि कालविलम्बः सोढव्य आसीदिति नोत्प्रेक्षणीयम् । चतुर्मुखो हि स देवः  
परितो युगपत्प्रणिपततां सर्वेषामभिमुख एवावतस्थ इति सर्वतोमुखपदेन संविधानरामणीयकं  
ध्वनयति । हन्त पदविन्यासविनोदनेष्वपि महाकवेः परमार्थदर्शिता । यदेवं “सर्वतःपाणिपादं  
तत्सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुख”मिति गीताप्रतिपाद्यमिहोपस्थातव्यं निबबन्ध । मन्ये न केवलं  
सर्वतोमुखो वागीशः महाकविरपि यावद्देवानां स्तुत्य इदानीं संवृत्तः । अन्ते चास्या द्वादश-  
श्लोक्या अन्तर्भावितबहुतत्त्वार्थतया हृदयहारितां स्वयं निवेदयति । तत् सन्तु बाला एवाद्यत्वे  
काव्येऽस्मिन्निक्षमाणाः, तथापि कविनैव सूचितेऽर्थभूयस्त्वे न दवीयस्तरभावकल्पनादोष-  
मस्मासु ग्रहीष्यन्ति भावुकाः ।

इयं हि सा गीतासंस्तुता द्वादशश्लोकी, यस्या अयमाद्यः श्लोकः—

नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।

गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्देदमुपेयुषे ॥ (कु. २. ४.) ।

तत्र श्रुतिस्तावत् “यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते....तद्ब्रह्म” इति ब्रह्मणो  
लक्षणमुक्त्वा कतमत्तदिति स्वरूपजिज्ञासायां अन्नादिपरित्यागेन “आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजा-  
नात्” इति निर्धार्य, “आनन्दाद्वयेव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते” इत्युपसंहरति । कुसुम-  
सुकुमाराणि च श्रुतिवाक्यानि भवन्तीति तेषां संग्रथनाय सूत्रं प्रवृत्ते—<sup>4</sup>जन्माद्यस्य यतः ।

यतः—आनन्दलक्षणात् ब्रह्मणः, अस्य—जगतः, जन्मादि—उत्पत्तिः स्थितिर्यः  
इति भवति; तद्ब्रह्मेह जिज्ञासितुमधिकृतमित्यर्थः । सूत्रे यतश्चार्थः आनन्दमात्रं ब्रह्मणः  
स्वरूपं, जगत्कारणत्वमस्य स्वरूपानुगतमप्युपलक्षणाय निर्दिश्यत इति संप्रदायः । किमुक्तं  
भवति श्रुतौ यतो जगज्जायते तद्ब्रह्म, आनन्दादेव जायत इति । इदमुक्तं भवति कारणस्य  
यत्स्वरूपं आनन्दादि, तदिह विज्ञेयं कारणत्वं पुनस्तस्य धर्मो विज्ञायतां मा वा, स्वरूप-  
विवेककरणायैव तदनुक्रान्तमिति । अत एवोपलक्षणार्थं यतःपदं प्रायुङ्क्त भगवान् सूत्र-  
कारः । अन्यथा अत इत्येव प्रायोक्ष्यत ।

कृतञ्चेयदद्य महति शास्त्रार्थगहनेऽनुप्रविश्य । श्रुतिसूत्राध्वपारगो महाकविरपीश्वरस्य  
सर्गस्थितिसंहारदशासु बह्वविष्णुरुद्रभावं नमस्त्रिमूर्तये इत्येकस्याभिधाय कारणत्वस्य स्वरूपा-  
संभेदमुपदिशति ‘प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलत्मने’ इति । पश्चात् सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणानां  
विभागाय—सृष्टये बहुविधं भेदमुपेयिवानपि स एकः परमार्थतो गुणधर्मैरसंस्तस्वभावः सलि-  
ल एको द्रष्टाद्वैतो भवतीति श्रवणादित्याशयः । तदिदं मूर्तिभेददर्शनं केषांचित् महाकविना प्रत्या-  
दिश्यते । ये नामागमस्य पुराणानाञ्चाख्यानकमेव परमं भावं पश्यन्ति मूर्तिभेदतदुत्कर्षापकर्ष-  
योरभिनिविष्टचित्ताः, तान्महाकविरनुक्रोशतीति इदं चिह्नं यदसकृन्मूर्तिभेददृष्टिं सनिर्वन्धमिव  
परावर्तयति सहृदयानाम्—

एकैव मूर्तिर्विभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।

विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद्वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ ॥ (कु. ७.४४.)।

लीलापरिगृहीतविग्रहा एते सत्यामेकात्मतायां परस्परभेदमुत्कर्षापकर्षौ च प्रसङ्गानुरूपं  
दर्शयन्तीत्युक्तम् । यदाह स्म विधाता—

स हि देवः परं ज्योतिस्तमःपरे व्यवस्थितम् ।

परिच्छिन्नप्रभावविर्धनं मया न च विष्णुना ॥ (कु. २. ५७.) ।

पाणिग्रहणप्रसंगे च—प्रणोमनुस्तौ पितरौ प्रजानां पद्मासनस्थाय पितामहाय । अत  
एव च विवाहार्थं प्रस्थानमङ्गले सकौतुकं समापतत्सु सर्वेषु भगवान्—कम्पेन मूर्ध्निशत-  
पत्रयोनिं वाचा हरिं वृत्रहणं स्मितेनेत्येवं सुरान् यथाप्रधानं संभावयामास ।

केचिन्मन्यन्ते—अस्ति भगवतो दर्शनं “यस्मात्क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।  
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः” इति । इह स्वस्य सर्वोत्कर्षं भगवान् स्वयमुपदि-

शतीति । अन्ये मन्यन्ते 'वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं' 'एकैश्वर्ये स्थितोऽपि' इति च नान्दीं विदधत् महाकविश्चैवोत्कर्षमिच्छतीति । अनया गमनिकया यत्र शैवसिद्धान्तः कदाचित् स्थितिमुन्नतिं च प्राप, ते काश्मीरा अस्य कवेर्जन्मभूमिरिति च दर्शयन्ति कल्पनाकौशलम् । तदुभयेषामुत्तरं संशयच्छेदिना वचनेन कविः प्रतिपद्यते—

हरिर्यथैकः पुरुषोत्तमः स्मृतो महेश्वरस्त्यम्बक एव नापरः ।

तथा विदुर्मां मुनयश्शतक्रतुं द्वितीयगामी न हि शब्द एष नः ॥ र. ३. ४९. ।

स्यादेतत्, जगद्धापारमर्तीत्यावस्थितं शुद्धमात्मनः स्वरूपं परमार्थ इति केवैरदपर्य-मवगतम् । किंलक्षणं पुनस्तदवगन्तव्यम् ; यदवगमात्परः पुरुषार्थो लभ्यते । ज्योतिस्तत्, सत्यं, आनन्दश्चेति भगवती श्रुतिः । एनमर्थं श्रुतिशरणो महाकविरवधारयति—'स हि देवः परं ज्योतिः,'

अभ्यासनिगृहीतेन मनसा हृदयाश्रयम् ।

ज्योतिर्मयं विचिन्वन्ति योगिनस्त्वां विमुक्तये ॥ (र. १०. २३.) इति ।

तत्र सत्यं नाम यत्त्रिषु कालेषु रूपविपर्ययं न गच्छति एकरूपं तदिति सत्यशब्दार्थं निम्नवन्नाह—

रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते ।

देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥ (र. १०. १७.) इति ।

एतदुक्तं भवति—यदान्नायास्त्वामभिवदन्ति सर्वकर्मा सर्वरस इत्यादि, तदिदमेव स्वतोऽसर्वकर्मणोऽसर्वरसस्य सर्वरसता; यदुत त्रिभिर्गुणैरुपरञ्जितो रसभेदपरिणामं तेषु निगच्छत्सु स्वयमपि तद्वानिवाजायसे यथा मधुरैकस्वरसं दिव्यमम्भस्तत्तद्देशभेदानुरूपानि रसान्तराण्यनुभवति । अनेनोपमाविशेषग्रहणेन बहूनुपाधीननुप्रतिष्ठ ईश्वर उपाधिसमवधानदशायामपि न संस्पृश्यते तदीयैर्धर्मैरिति व्यज्यते । तदिदमुक्तं—अविक्रिय इति । आनन्दरूपमप्यस्य कविवचनसिद्धं जीवनिरूपणे व्याचिरूपासितेन श्लोकेनोपरिष्ठादर्शयिष्यामः ।

अपि चात्मपराणां वेदान्तानां त्रिप्रकारा प्रवृत्तिरालक्ष्यते । कचिद्विधिमुखेन यथोदितैरानन्दादिधर्मैरेनुपदिशन्ति । अन्यत्र नेति नेत्यस्थूलादिभिर्निषेधधर्मैः । अपरत्र 'पश्यत्यचक्षुस्तृणोत्पकर्णः' इत्येवंविधैर्विरुद्धवदामसैर्वचोभिरेन श्रावयन्ति । क्लिष्टमिदमाप्नोयानामपि वर्तते

यदवाङ्मनसगोचरो ब्रह्मतत्त्वमुपदेष्टव्यम् ; यन्मनसाभिगृह्य तमसः पारमधिगमिष्यन्ति जन्तवः ।  
कविरपि ध्यायं ध्यायं भक्तिप्रकर्षेण श्रुतिप्रदिष्टमात्मतत्त्वं, स्मारं स्मारमादरातिशयेनान्या-  
दृशीमात्मनिरूपणे श्रुतिसंघटनां तेनैव श्रुतिदर्शितेन पथा विरोधाभासेन तत्त्वनिरूपणमुप-  
क्रमते—

जगद्योनिरयोनिस्त्वं जगदन्तो निरन्तकः ।

जगदादिरनादिस्त्वं जगदीशो निरीश्वरः ॥ (कु. २. ९.) ।

हृदयस्थमनासन्नमकामं त्वां तपस्विनम् ।

दयालुमनघस्पृष्टं पुराणमजरं विदुः ॥ इति च रघौ (१०. १९.) ।

शक्त्यात्मनानुप्रविश्याखिलं प्रकाशयत् सव्यापारमिव चापादयत् यदेकं विराजते तत्त्वं,  
तस्मिन् स्थाने सर्वान्धर्मानारोप्य पुनरपवादकरणे सर्वधर्मविवर्जितं कथञ्चित् स्वरूपमात्रं ज्ञापितं  
भवतीत्येषा निषेधधर्मैरात्मप्रपदनी श्रुतिप्रवृत्तिः । तदीदृग्विधस्य भावयाथात्म्यस्य मनसाप्यवमर्शो  
दुःशको दूरे वचोभिर्निवेदनम् । तदुक्तं श्रुत्या ‘यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते । अप्राप्य मनसा सहे’ति ।  
अमुं श्रुत्यर्थं स्फुटमाह रघौ—‘अथैनं तुष्टवुः स्तुत्यमवाङ्मनसगोचरम् । इति (२. १०. १५.) ।

अपि चाविषयमपि विषयमिवात्मानमनुशिष्टः कश्चिदन्तेवासी विरोधमत्र परिजिहीर्षन्  
सुचिरमेकान्ते मत्वा यथानिर्धारितमात्मनः स्वरूपमाविश्वकार ‘नाह मन्ये सुवेदेति नो न  
वेदेति वेद च । अविज्ञातं विजानतां विज्ञातमविजानताम् ॥’ इममप्यर्थं सन्निवेशविशेषमन्यं  
कविर्निबध्नाति—

साक्षाद्दृष्टोऽसि न पुनर्विद्वस्त्वा वयमञ्जसा ।

प्रसीद कथयात्मानं न धियां पथि वर्तसे ॥ (कु. ६. २२.) ।

कचिद्वज्ञकर्मविधानं, अपरत्र प्रतिषेधः, अन्यत्र सगुणतत्त्वस्योपदेशः, अन्ततश्शुद्ध-  
स्यादेश इति केनापि भावेन प्रवृत्तानामागमानां दुस्संपादं नामाल्पग्रन्नानां यदविरोधेन सम-  
न्वयगमनम् । तज्जिज्ञासुभिरवहितैर्भाव्यमिति कविसन्देशोऽत्र स्फुटं चकास्ति । यत् बहुधा  
निरूपिततत्त्वा मुनिप्रवरास्साक्षात्कुर्वन्त एव परं अविदन्त इवाञ्जसा प्रार्थयन्ते—प्रसीद  
कथयात्मानमिति । अहह महाकविना वञ्चिताः स्मो वयम् ; यत् मुनिप्राग्रसरा एते सप्त  
समभ्यर्थयितारः, सर्वलोकशरण्यं जिज्ञास्यं परं तत्त्वं साक्षादुपदेष्टुं, निरस्य शङ्कापङ्कमनावि-

लमुपदेक्ष्यति स्वं याथात्म्यमिति तदुपदेशश्रवणपरायणमस्मदीयं मनोऽत्रान्तरे व्यावर्त्य प्रस्तुत-  
कार्यनियोजनाय प्रार्थनान्तरं सप्तर्षिमुखात्कविरयमवतारयति स्म—

अथ वा सुमहल्लेषा प्रार्थना देव तिष्ठतु ।

चिन्तितोपस्थितानस्मान् शाधि नः करवाम किम् ॥ (कु. ६. २४.) ।

अहो ब्रत स्मृतमात्रोपस्थितानामृषीणां, इतिवृत्तसंगमनव्यग्रस्य कवेर्वा क्षणमात्रासह-  
नदुःशीलता । अथ वा नियतानुशासनीयानामृषीणां मुखेन प्रश्नमिमं दुरुत्तरमुपक्षिप्य शब्द-  
मात्रागोचरस्य वचनेऽवचने च महासंकटे क्षणमात्रमीश्वरमपि पातयन् कविः प्रार्थ-  
नान्तरोपक्रममिति वृत्तं प्रणयन्नपि इत्यतो रमणीयतरसंविधानमात्राच्छब्दबुध्यगोचरमात्मानं  
विना वचनं प्रोवाच । अयमस्य कवेरन्यादृशोऽलोकवेदसिद्धोऽध्यारोपापवादन्यायावतारणमहिमा ।

एवं निश्शेषं प्रपञ्चसम्बन्धादुद्गृहीतस्य परमात्मनः स्वयं समापतति प्रत्यग्जीवभेदो  
यमद्वैतवादा महातात्पर्येण प्रतिष्ठापयन्ति । शास्त्रार्थं दर्शयति—

त्वमेव हव्यं होता च भोज्यं भोक्ता च शाश्वतः ।

वेद्यं च वेदिता चासि ध्याता ध्येयं च यत्परम् ॥ (कु. २. १५.) ।

“क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत” इति च भगवद्गीतासु शरीराण्यनु-  
प्रविष्टस्येश्वरस्यैव जीवभावः स्मर्यते । गीतार्थं विवृण्वन्नाह—

मनो नवद्वारनिषिद्धवृत्ति हृदि व्यवस्थाप्य समाधिवश्यम् ।

यमक्षरं क्षेत्रविदो विदुस्तमात्मानमात्मन्यवलोकयन्तम् ॥ (कु. ३. ५०.) ।

युक्तं यत्संसरन्तो जीवाः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्विभागं विदित्वा शरीरेन्द्रियमनस्संसर्गकृतेन  
कालुष्येणाक्षरमपि क्षरमिव विभाव्यमानमात्मानं मुञ्जादिवेषिकां बन्धात्प्रवृद्ध मनोनिग्रहद्वारेण  
स्वं परमार्थरूपं परमात्मानं पश्यन्ति । यावदिदानीं ससाधनेन समाधिना बन्धनादुत्क्रष्टव्यस्त  
एव योगी संवृत्तः; किं तदस्यानवलोकितं रूपं यदवमर्शाय सोऽपि योगमभ्यस्यति ।  
तथापि अयं समुदाचार इति लोकसंग्रहणादन्यत् नेह समाधिफलमिति व्यतिरेको ध्वन्यते ।  
सर्वथा जीवपरयोरभेदोऽत्र स्पष्टं शास्त्रार्थो निरदिश्यत महाकविना ।

द्विरूपं च ब्रह्मावगम्यते वेदान्तेषु-निरस्तोपाधिसंबन्धं परं, यदियता प्रबन्धनावोचाम;  
यत्तु समस्तोपाधिसंबन्धमपरं उपासनासूपयुज्यते; तस्य जगत्कर्तुर्व्याख्यातरूपस्य प्रकृतित्वमपि  
श्रुतिसूत्रसिद्धं कविवचनेन निर्धारयिष्यामः । इह जगतः कारणनिरूपणायां केचिदध्यवस्यन्ति—

लोकेऽल्पपरिमाणानां बहूनां द्रव्यांशानां समाहारान्महद्वस्तु निष्पाद्यमानं दृश्यते । अनेन न्यायेन मूलानुगमने जगतः कारणं परमाणवः कल्पयितव्या इति ।

अपरे तु एकस्मात्सुवर्णद्रव्यात्कटककेयूरकुण्डलादीनां निर्माणमालक्ष्य बहूनामेकस्मादुत्पत्तिमातिष्ठन्ते । तत्र श्रुतेः स्वस्य चाभिमतं कारणं परपरिकल्पितेनाऽसंकीर्णरूपं ग्राहयितुं

तिसृभिस्त्वमवस्थाभिर्महिमानमुदीरयन् ।

प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामेकः कारणतां गतः ॥ (कु. २. ६.) ।

आत्मानमात्माना वेत्सि सृजस्यात्मानमात्मना ।

आत्मना कृतिना च त्वमात्मन्येव प्रलीयसे ॥ (कु. २. १०.) ।

इति स्तुवन्नेकग्रहणेन आत्मपदप्रयोगेण च बहुभिरणुभिस्संगतैर्विश्वं प्रसूयत इति वैशेषिकवादाद्विशेषं दर्शयति । भवेदेष वैशेषिकाणां वादः प्रमाणवान् यदि कारणादन्यत्कार्यं स्यात् । कारणस्यैव तु संस्थानविशेषः कार्यमिति सन्ति बहुशः श्रुतिवचनानि । तान्युपलक्षयति

द्रवस्संघातकठिनः स्थूलस्सूक्ष्मो लघुर्गुरुः ।

व्यक्तो व्यक्तेतरश्चासि प्राकाम्यं ते विभूतिषु ॥ (र. १०. १६.) ।

स्यादेतत् । प्रपञ्चव्याक्रियायामन्यः श्रुतिदृष्टो जायन्ते जीवन्ति अभिसंविशन्तीति क्रमः । अन्यश्च प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामिति । उत्पत्तिस्थितिभङ्गानामिति वक्तव्ये विरूपमिदं सृष्टौ क्रम-प्रतीपगमनं कवेः । नचैवं सति लोकमर्यादानुसृता भवति । उत्पन्नस्य स्थितिं स्थितस्य विलयं च लोकः पश्यति । सत्यम् । अत एवानतिक्रान्तश्रुतिपथं

‘नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु विभ्रते ।

अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रेधास्थितात्मने ॥ (कु. २. ४.) ।

इति क्रमविवक्षयाभिहितम् । किन्तु यथा लोके उत्पन्नस्य स्थितिः, स्थितस्य विलयः, एवं प्रलीनस्योत्पत्तिरिति किं न स्यात् ? नचैषां पौर्वापर्यं नियमहेतुस्समस्ति इति क्रमभङ्गना-पदेशेन संसारस्यानादित्वमुपक्षिप्तं कविसार्वभौमेणेति प्रतिपत्तव्यम् । तथाच लोकवेदविदां चत्वारो न्यायाः प्रसिद्ध्यन्ति । तद्यथा लोके पुरुषो महाविस्तारवर्ती जगतीमनुवर्तमान-एवोत्सृज्य लोकबन्धं सुषुप्त्यवस्थां गच्छति । स पुनस्सुप्तोत्थितस्तामेव जगतीमनुगच्छन् पूर्वेषु-



रात्मना सामिकृतं कार्यं समापयितुं यतते । इमं स्वापप्रबोधनयं नाम प्रथममाचक्षते । तथा यान्यृतुलक्षणानि वसन्तादिप्रादुर्भावेषु हृदयमावर्जयन्त्युज्जृम्भन्ते चूतप्रसवकोकिलारावमुखानि; तान्येवर्तुव्यवधानेषु तिरोहितरूपाणि भूयो वत्सरपर्यये पुनरावर्तन्ते । इमं वत्सरपरिवृत्तिनयं नाम द्वितीयमाचक्षते । आभ्यां किलानुगम्यमानं तृतीयं जन्ममरणन्यायमाहुः । तद्यथा देहेऽस्मिन्नियतेनायुःपरिमाणेन व्यवहरन् प्रायणकाले त्यक्त्वा देहसंबन्धं केनापि सूक्ष्मरूपेणावस्थितो महता कालविलम्बेन देहान्तरं प्रतिपद्यते । स तत्र पूर्ववासनानुरूपं बुद्धिसंयोगं लभमानो जीवयात्तया सङ्गच्छत इति । एभिस्त्रिभिर्न्यायैस्संप्रधार्यमाणः सृष्टिप्रलयन्यायो नाम तुरीयो यं 'धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयति'त्यादिरागमो दर्शयति ॥

तत्र स्वापप्रबोधनयस्य वत्सरपरिवृत्तिनयस्य च वृत्तं जगतस्सृष्टावतिदिशति स्मृतिः—

शर्वर्यन्ते प्रसूतानां तान्येवैभ्यो ददात्यजः ।

यथर्तुष्वृतुलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये ।

जायन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भावा युगादिषु ॥ इति ।

कविरपि—स्वकालपरिमाणेन व्यक्तरात्रिदिवस्य ते ।

यौ तु स्वप्नावबोधौ तौ भूतानां प्रलयोदयौ ॥ (कु. २. ८.) इति ।

अन्यत्र च हृदयंगमेनोपमानद्वयेन आद्याभ्यां तुल्यलक्षणं प्रेत्यभावं निर्दिशति—

तां हंसमालाशरदीव गङ्गां महौषधिं नक्तमिवात्मभासः ।

स्थिरोपदेशमुपदेशकाले प्रपेदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविद्याः ॥ (कु. १. ३०.) इति ।

तदेवं अल्पाल्पतरदीर्घदीर्घतरव्यवधानेन कालचक्रनियन्त्रितेषु कर्मवातेर्यमाणेषु भावेषु घटीयन्त्रवदनशमावर्तमानेषु क एषामादिः, किं मध्यं, का संप्रतिष्ठेति तत्त्वतो न प्राप्नोतीति सुष्ठु कविनोपलक्षितं संसारस्यानादित्वमित्यलम् ॥

ननु यदि नामेश्वरः तत्तत्कार्यरूपेण समजायतेत्युपगच्छेम, तदा विक्रियावत्त्वमात्मनः प्रसज्येत । 'अविकार्योऽयमुच्यते' इति चैवमादीनि श्रुतिवचनानि बाध्येरन् । 'देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः' इति च स्ववचनमिति । उच्यते—प्रपञ्चरूपपरिणामं, अथ च तद्विरुद्धमविक्रियत्वमीश्वरस्योपदिशतां श्रुतिसूत्राणामयमाशयो लक्ष्यते—गृह्णन्तु तावदादौ जगदीश्वरपरिणामं जिज्ञासवः । विवेचनशीलतया तु स्वयमुदकै विवर्तवादेन संगस्यन्ते—स एक ईश्वरस्सदैकरूपो विचित्रतरबहुविधशब्दबुद्धिगोचरं लोकव्यवहारमुपनीयते—इति ।

“प्रस्थाप्यमाने परिणामवादे स्वयं समायाति विवर्तवादः” इति च संप्रदायः । इमां परिणामप्रक्रमेण विवर्तपर्यवसायिनीं सोपानारोहणक्रमविन्यासपद्यां वितनुते कविः—

त्वामामनन्ति प्रकृतिं पुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनीम् ।

तददर्शिनमुदासीनं त्वामेव पुरुषं विदुः ॥ कु. २. १३. ।

अस्यार्थः—सर्वज्ञं चेतनं सन्तं त्वामाम्नाया आदौ तावज्जगतः प्रकृतिं परिणामिकारणं वदन्ति । अथ च पण्डिताः त्वामेव विक्रियमाणायाः प्रकृतेर्द्वैष्टारं साक्षिणं, पूर्णत्वाच्च पुरुषं जानन्तीति ॥

पद्यमिदं यद्यपि महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमन्मल्लिनाथसूरिप्रमुखाः सांख्यमतानुसारेण देवानां स्तुतिमवतारयामासुः, तथापि यावद्यावत्परीक्ष्यते तावत्सांख्यमतनिराकरणपक्षस्यैवेदं पद्यं भवति नाभ्युपगमपक्षस्येति नः प्रतिभाति । अचेतना हि सांख्यानां प्रकृतिः । तथा संस्तूयते सर्वज्ञो ब्रह्मा देवैरिति ग्रंथमतो न श्लिष्टम् । औपनिषदं स्वमतमातिष्ठमाना अपि सांख्या वेदान्तेषु सर्वज्ञोपचरितां प्रकृतिं प्रतिजानते । न चेतनस्याचेतनभावं कदाचित् । अपिच प्रकृतिसंस्तुतस्य विधातुरुत्तरार्धे तददर्शिनमुदासीनमिति तत्साक्षित्वमौदासीन्यञ्चोच्यमानं कथमुपपाद्यत इति प्रष्टव्याः । यदि ब्रूयुः—अस्ति सांख्यानां प्रकृतिरचेतना; अस्ति च ततो विभक्तः पुरुषः । तथापि कश्चित्प्रकृतेर्विवेकमात्मनोऽपश्यन् तदात्मतया सुखी दुःखी मूढ इति संसरति । तदभिप्रायं तयोरभेदवचनम् । मुक्तः पुनरन्यो विवेकविज्ञानेन तां पश्यन् प्रेक्षकवदुदासीनोऽवतिष्ठते । तेनोक्तं तददर्शिनमिति । ‘अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः’ इति श्रुतिरपीमां व्यवस्थां दर्शयतीति । एवमपि पुरुषबहुत्वदर्शिनां सांख्यानां मते येन संसरता पुरुषेण स्वात्मनि प्रकृत्यभेदोऽध्यारोपितः, यं प्रकृतिमामनन्ति, स एवोदासीनो विवेकेन तां पश्यतीति किं केन संगतम् ?

अथान्योऽभिप्रायः—एको जुषमाणः जहात्यन्यः इति श्रुतौ न संसारमोक्षयोः पुरुषभेदेन व्यवस्थानं विवक्षितम् । एक एव हि पर्यायेणाविवेकविवेकाभ्यां संसरति मुच्यते च; दशाभेदात् स एवैकान्यपदाभ्यां निर्दिश्यत इति । सांप्रतं देवानां प्रसाध्यैश्वर्यं कश्चिदधिकृत्यैवं स्तोतुम् । यस्तु सहोत्पन्नधर्मज्ञानवैराग्यैश्वर्यो हिरण्यगर्भः, ये च सनक-सनन्दनमहर्षिकपिलप्रमुखा आदिविद्वांसः तेषामप्यवस्थाविशेषे प्रसाध्यैश्वर्यं कल्पयद्भिः किमिदमस्थाने देवैरपकर्षः क्रियते । न चास्मिन् पक्षे कल्पितमभेदं वददामनन्तिपदं स्वरसमिव ।

अभ्युपगम्यैतद्वोचाम । वस्तुतो भ्रमकल्पनासहा अख्यातिवादिनस्सांख्याः ; तदेषां मतेन पुरुषे प्रकृत्यभेदारोपकल्पना न भागिनीति व्युत्पादितमस्माभिर्निबन्धान्तरे । तस्मात्

प्रकृतिः, पुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनी, उदासीनः इति च पदसामान्यमात्रेण शास्त्रार्थसमर्दासहान् बालान् प्रति महोपाध्याय एवं व्याकरोदिति मन्यामहे ।

नारायणकविस्तु—सेश्वरसांख्यं योगमभिमत्य, स ईश्वरस्सर्गविधायिनीं प्रकृतिं सन्निधानेन प्रेरयन् जगतः कर्तेह निबद्धः इति भावान्तरसुपचिक्षेप । तदपीदृशेषु तत्त्वार्थविवेचन-संविधानेषु कर्तुर्वाचकं परिणामिनो वाचकं च प्रकृतिपदं कर्तृत्वे कविः प्रयुञ्जीतेति शङ्कामात्रेण स्तम्भितवृत्तिभिरस्माभिरुपेक्षितम् । तस्मात् परिणामवादारोहक्रमेण विवर्तवा-दावतरणमिदमिति यथाव्याख्यातं रमणीयम् ।

अथवा व्युत्पत्तिभेदेन अधिकारभेदेन वान्यमन्यं पन्थानमनुसरन्त्यपि दर्शनानि पर्य-न्तभावेनेश्वरमेवैकं श्रयन्त इति दर्शनानामवगतिसामान्यं कविरन्यत्र समादिदेश—

बहुधाप्यागमैर्भिन्नाः पन्थानस्सिद्धिहेतवः ।

त्वय्येव निपतन्त्योघा जाह्नवीया इवार्णवे ॥ र. १०. २६. ।

विपुलमतयो हि क्रान्तदर्शित्वात्कवयो भवन्ति । तत्र कतमः पन्थाः, कथं वा ईश्वरे निपततीत्यस्यामपेक्षायां प्रकृतिनिरूपणेन सांख्याः, तत्साक्षीश्वरनिरूपणेन योगि-नो वेदान्तिनश्चेति पूर्वोत्तरार्थयोर्विभज्य वाक्यभेदेन व्याख्येयम् ।

यद्वा सर्वोपनिषदर्थोपसंहरणप्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् कमपि “सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीत्” इति श्रुतेरर्थविशेषमनेन पद्येन कविरनुभावयति सहृदयैरिति युक्तम् । अस्मिन् वाक्ये जगतः कारणं सच्छब्दार्थो न शुद्धं चैतन्यमालम्; नापि केवल प्रकृतिशक्तिः । किं तर्हि? शक्तिसंवलितः परमेश्वरः । सा च प्रकृतिशक्तिर्नेश्वरादेकान्तं भिद्यते; नाप्यत्यन्तं न भिद्यते । यथा च रमणीयो ग्रामः, अधृष्यो ग्रामः, संपन्नो ग्रामः इति प्रयोगभेदेषु क्वचिद्ग्रामशब्दो जनपदे वर्तते; क्वचिन्निवासिजनेषु; क्वचिदुभयस्मिन् जनपदे निवासिजनेषु च । कस्य हतोः? विवक्षा-भेदादित्याह । एवमयं सच्छब्दो विवक्षावशाच्छक्तिमदीश्वरे वर्तिष्यत इति वेदान्तमर्यादा । तदिदं सच्छब्दार्थेऽशब्दयसद्भावः, तयोरैकान्तिकभेदाभेददौर्लभ्यमिति च कवेर्निर्दिदिक्षितम् । यदाहुः भगवत्पादाः—“अव्यक्ता हि सा माया तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यामनिर्वाच्यत्वात्” इति । तदयं श्लोकार्थः—सदेवेत्यादिवाक्यानि त्वां प्रकृतिं वदन्ति; न खलु सा प्रकृतिशक्तिस्त्वामृते स्वरूपलभं भजत इति । अथ च येनाधिष्ठिताचेतनापि सा प्रकृतिरात्मानं प्रकरोति । तं तस्या द्रष्टारं साक्षिणमपि त्वामेव पण्डिता अधिष्ठानावशेषं कल्पितवस्त्विति न्यायविदो जानन्तीति । हन्त कविभावगति-रत्यायता न परिमीयते स्खलद्रतिष्वस्मत्प्रज्ञासु । विशेषतो ध्वननमार्गव्याप्राश्रयाण्यपर्यन्तानि नाम कविवचांसि सुदूरमनुधावन्ति ध्वनन्ति च भावभेदेषु । तत्परीक्षन्तां संमर्शिनो यदीतो-

ऽपि सरसं भावान्तरं समुल्लसति । सर्वथा कचित्सांख्यं, कचिदौपनिषदं, कचिदन्यदिति न भावशून्य इव कविर्मतभेदान् परिगणयिष्यतीति स्थितम् ।

तिष्ठतु यथादर्शितः पदार्थोऽन्यो वा कश्चित् । सांख्यवादप्रतिपक्षभूतो महाक-  
विरिति न मृष्यते । तथाहि लङ्कायाः प्रतिनिवर्तमानस्य श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य वचनेन सरयूं  
महानदीमुपवर्णयन् कविरुपमामुपादत्ते—

पयोधरैः पुण्यजनाङ्गनानां निर्विष्टहेमाम्बुजरेणु यस्याः ।

ब्राह्मं सरः कारणमाप्तवाचो बुद्धेरिवव्यक्तमुदाहरन्ति ॥ र. १३. ६०. ।

बुद्धेः—महत्तत्त्वस्य, अव्यक्तं—प्रकृतिः, स्मृतिसिद्धं कारणं यथा तथा सरय्वा उद्भवो  
ब्राह्मं सर इति व्याख्याय श्रीमल्लिनाथप्रमुखाः 'प्रकृतेर्महंस्तततोऽहंकारस्तस्माद्गणश्च षोडशकः  
इति सांख्यप्रक्रियानिविष्टं कविद्वयं मन्यन्ते । यन्नामकं यत्प्रभवं च महत्तत्त्वं साङ्ख्यानां  
तत्तादृशमिहोपात्तं दृश्यते । एवं कार्यविषये स्मृतिमनुगच्छन्, कारणमव्यक्तमपि स्मृतिसिद्धं  
निर्दिशन् कथमिवान्यत्र पक्षमेनं कविः प्रतिक्षिपेत् । नचास्य पक्षस्यानुकूल्यं प्रतिपन्ना औप-  
निषदा इतरेषां 'महदादीनां वेदान्तवादेष्वनुपलब्धेरीदृशार्थेष्वप्रमाणं सांख्यस्मृतिरिति वदन्तः ।  
किं बहुना यावदद्यतना विमर्शिनः केचित् सांख्यकारिकामीश्वरकृष्णापरनामधेयस्य कालि-  
दासस्यैव कृतिमुल्लिखन्तीति ।

अस्त्विदं किं सांख्यकारिकया इदं कविकर्मणा भवितव्यं न वेत्याद्यपर्यवस्यदुत्प्रेक्षाकौ-  
शलम् । यथा तु महदव्यक्तयोरुपमानयोर्ग्रहणेन सांख्यानां प्रत्यवस्थानं न कल्पते; तथा  
व्युत्पादयांभूवुरानुमानिकाधिकरणे श्रीभगवत्पादाः—“<sup>३</sup>न ह्येतत् महतः परमव्यक्तमिति  
वचनं स्मृतिसिद्धयोर्महदव्यक्तयोरस्तित्वपरम्” इति । एतदुक्तं भवति अन्यन्महत्तत्त्वं सां-  
ख्यानां यत्सत्तामात्रं प्रथमजम् । प्रथमजं तदुच्यते; यदयमव्यक्तस्यादिमः परिणामः । तन्महत् ;  
यदव्यक्तमपेक्ष्य व्यक्तीभवति । सत्ता सा ; एषा ह्यव्यक्तस्यासत्कल्पस्य पुरुषार्थसंपादनप्रवणा  
दशेति । अन्यच्च वेदान्तवादिनां महत्तत्त्वं या हैरण्यगर्भी समष्टिबुद्धिः । सा समष्टिरुच्यते ;  
यत्परिमिता जीवबुद्धीरेकनीडायमाना समश्नुते । तत्तद्देहमात्रव्यतिषक्ताः परिच्छिन्नाल्पविष-  
याभिमानिनीर्जीवानां व्यष्टिबुद्धीरेपेक्ष्य अपञ्चीकृतमहाभूतविषयपरिच्छेदकत्वाच्च सा महती  
व्यपदिश्यत इति ।

1. सांख्यकारिका श्लो. 22.

2. ब्र. 2. 1. 2.

3. ब्र. शं. Page 106 Bombay Ed. 1917.

तदनयोः सरय्वा उपमानं कतमो महान् कविहृदयस्थितः; किमौपनिषदः? किं वा कापिल इति सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया निरूपयामः ।

विदितं काव्यपरिशीलनशीलानां यथा भारतीयकवितल्लजानामुपमाग्रहणेषु यदुपमानं, यस्य चोपमानं, तयोरानुरूप्यश्रीर्विभक्तावयवा, कीलकनियन्त्रितेव यन्त्रनिवेशस्थापना, पर्वणः पर्वणस्सन्नहति; विशेषतः परिवाहिनी सा कालिदासीयेष्विति । तदत्र वेदान्तोदित-लक्षणा बुद्धिः यथा पञ्च भूतानि महाविषयानश्नुवाना समष्टिर्महती समपद्यत ; तथा सरयूरपि महतो विषयान् देशानाप्लावयन्ती तावतीनामपामाधारो महतीति सादृश्यम् । अपि च सा बुद्धिरविप्लुतस्वमहिमा सती प्राणभृतां हृदयसीमसु विनियुज्यमाना तत्तद्देहयात्रामात्रप्रयोजनाय कल्पते; इयमपि नदी देशसामान्यप्रयोजनं कुर्वत्येव नदीशाखासु विभज्यमाना प्रत्येकदेश-समृद्धये प्रभवतीति सादृश्यम् । पुनरसौ शरीरदेशेषु व्यवस्थिता तिर्यग्गमनेन चक्षुरादिभिर्द्वैरैः शब्दादीनां भोगं जनयति; इयमप्यपां निधानेषु बहुषु निबद्धा कुल्याद्वारेण सस्यक्षेत्राणां संपत्तिं जनयतीति सादृश्यम् । एवमसौ महानदी, महती बुद्धिरिव त्रिलोकीं, अनुवृत्तव्यावृत्तरूपेण बहूनि राष्ट्राणि भावयन्ती जननीनिर्विशेषं माननीया सर्वस्य लोकस्येति कवेस्तद्विषया रतिर्व्यज्यते । अत एव जात इव जनन्याः, जनन्यामिव च जातस्य वात्सल्यप्रकर्षमादरातिशयं च सरयूश्रीरामयोरुपवर्णयन् कविरिमं भावपरिपोषं स्वयमुत्तरपद्याभ्यामाविश्वकार—

यां सैकतोत्सङ्गसुखोचितानां प्राज्यैः पयोभिः परिवर्धितानाम् ।

सामान्यधात्रीमिव मानसं मे संभावयत्युत्तरकोसलानाम् ॥ र. १३. ६२. ।

सेयं मदीया जननीव तेन मान्येन राज्ञा सरयूर्वियुक्ता ।

दूरे वसन्तं शिशिरानिलैर्मा तरङ्गहस्तैरुपगूहतीव ॥ र. १३. ६३. ।

किमेवमुपमाप्राणो निरवधिचारुताहेतुरुन्मूर्च्छत्परस्परसादृश्यं समृद्धयते सत्तामात्रं महदिति सांख्यपक्षपक्षपातेनेति सहृदया विभावयन्तु ।

अनयैव दिशा सांख्यवादसिद्धान्तमार्गयोरतुल्यलक्षणमव्यक्तं विविच्य मानसस्योपमानाय औपनिषदाव्यक्तस्यैव ग्रहणे स्वरसं भावपरिपोषमुल्लिखेत् । अनन्याश्रयं स्वतन्त्रं प्रधानं सांख्यैः स्मर्यते । परमेश्वराश्रयं तदधीनप्रवृत्तिमच्च तत् समर्थ्यते “तदधीनत्वादर्थवत्” इति न्यायविद्विर्वेदान्तवादिभिः । तदिह ब्राह्मस्य सरसः ऐश्वरशक्तिरूपाव्यक्तोपमानतायां सुस्पष्टमानुरूप्यम् । अत एव स्मृतिप्रसिद्धे महदव्यक्ते अपहाय श्रौतयोरेव तयोर्ग्रहणाय आप्तवाच इति साभिप्रायं श्रुतिवचनानीत्यर्थकं पदं प्रयुक्तम् । आप्तवाक्यपदस्यायमेवार्थः कविनोद्विष्ट इति च “आप्तवागनुमानाभ्यां साध्यं त्वां प्रति का कथा” इति कवेः प्रयोगान्तरादवसीयते ।

प्रकारान्तरेण वा योजना स्यात् । आप्तवाच इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदम् ; हिरण्यगर्भस्येत्यर्थः । बुद्धेरेव वा विशेषणम् । तथा हि वेदलक्षणा वाचस्सर्गादौ समधिगताः “यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै” इति श्रुतेः । सर्वथा सांख्यकल्पितयोर्महदव्यक्तयोरिह नावकाशो लभ्य इति सिद्धम् । यद्यप्ययं समुदाचारो यल्लोकसिद्धं नदीवृत्तं निदर्श्य अतिगभीर ईदृशो भावभूमा व्युत्पाद्यते ; न लोकसिद्धस्य व्युत्पादनाय शास्त्रमात्रगम्यं तत्त्वं निदर्श्येत । तथाप्यन्यादृशः कवेः प्रक्रमो यदसिद्धमपि सिद्धं कृत्वा तेनोपमिनोति । तत्रैवं सत्युपमेयधर्मैः कैश्चिदुपमानस्य, उपमानधर्मैश्चापरैरुपमेयस्येति परस्परसंवादसंपन्नसादृश्यमुभयमप्येकपद एवातिलोकं किमपि चर्वणापदमवतरतीति किं कलयामो हन्त आलङ्कारिकाणामपि सहसानभिगम्यं कविकर्मनैपुणम् ! पुनरप्येवंविधस्य चारुतरमुपमानस्य निवेशनं जीवानिरूपणे दर्शयिष्यामः । तस्मादनादरणीयस्सांख्यवादो महाकवेः ।

भूयश्चानादरणीयो यदेवं विधातारं प्रस्तौति—

त्वं पितृणामपि पिता देवानामपि दैवतम् ।

परतोऽपि परश्चासि विधाता वेधसामपि ॥ ( कु. २. १२. )

पद्यस्यास्य योजनाद्वयं स्वरसं प्रतीयते । आद्या श्रीमल्लिनाथसूरिप्रमुखैर्विवृता । यथा लोके सर्वस्य पितरो नमस्याः ; तथा त्वं पितृणां पिता—तेषामपि नमस्यः । सर्वस्य देवा यजनीयाः ; त्वं देवानां दैवतं—तेषामपि यजनीयोऽसीति । किन्तु संस्फुरद्योजनान्तरमिह प्रेक्षावतां नोपेक्षामर्हति । ईश्वरप्रणिधानावसरेऽस्मिन् एतत्पद्यसमानच्छायं “प्राणस्य प्राणमुत-चक्षुषश्चक्षुः” इति वेदान्तवाक्यं कवेर्हृदये विपरिवर्तमानमासीदिति गम्यते, यस्य प्रतिबिम्बमिव पद्यरत्नमिदं प्रत्युत्पन्नम् । न खलु श्रुतौ यथादर्शितेन मार्गेण प्राणस्य चेष्टयिता, चक्षुषो दर्शनसाधनमात्मेत्येवंपरं वचनम् । किं तर्हि ? प्राणस्य—देहे क्रियाशक्तिमतः आत्मा प्राणः—प्राणत्वे हेतुः आत्मानमाश्रित्य प्राणः स्वव्यापारेषु व्याप्रियते “येन प्राणः प्रणीयते” इति श्रुत्यन्तरात् । तथा चक्षुषश्चक्षुः हेतुरित्यादि समानम् । यद्येवं किमुक्तं भवति त्वं पितृणामपि पितेति ? त्वं पितृणां पितृत्वे हेतुः—पितृषु सन्निहितस्तदात्मा त्वमेव सर्वैः स्वधया तर्प्यसे । त्वं देवानां दैवतं—सर्वदेवात्मा त्वमेव सर्वत्रैज्यस इति । दृष्टचरश्चैवंपरः शब्दस्य प्रयोगो लोके “जातीनामप्यसौ जातिर्गुणानामप्यसौ गुणः” इति चैवंजातीयकः ।

अपरमपि कविहृदयमत्र दीर्घदीर्घतरभावकल्पनाव्यग्रस्य प्रतिभायात् । सांख्यदर्शने विमतिमात्मनः कविस्सूचयति । तथाहि—तत्त्वानां पञ्चविंशतिं कल्पयित्वा सांख्याः प्रवदन्ति—



“यस्मिन् पञ्च पञ्चजना आकाशश्च प्रतिष्ठितः” इति श्रुताविमान्येव तत्त्वानि संख्यायन्त इति । एतन्निराकरणं सूत्रकारः “प्राणादयो वाक्यशेषात्” इति जगाद । पञ्च पञ्चजना इति न सांख्यानां पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वामिप्रायं, किन्तु पञ्चजना नाम ये प्रसिद्धाः पञ्च, ते प्राणस्य प्राणमिति वाक्यशेषेदिताः प्राणादय एवेत्यर्थः । अत्र देवाः पितरो, गन्धर्वा इत्यादयः पञ्च पञ्चजना नाम, तानात्मानि प्रतिष्ठितानेतद्वाक्योक्तान् केचिन्मेनिर इति भगवत्पादा विशेषमाचख्युः ।

तद्यदीदमेकदेशिनां मतं कवेर्जीवितसमये सर्वत्र लब्धप्रचारं संभाव्यते ततस्सांख्य-मतानपेक्षां मनसिकृत्य सामिप्रायमेनमर्थं कविरिह संजग्रन्थेति ।

हृद्यमेतद्रोचते वेदान्तविचाररासिकेभ्यः । किन्त्वेवंप्रायास्तत्त्वार्थान् सूचयन्नयं न केवलं महाकविः; प्राप्रसरोऽपि दार्शनिकानामित्युपेतव्यं भवति । सर्वथा सांख्यमतव्युदासोपपत्तेः तथा नामास्तु । सिद्धं नः समीहितम् ।

प्रतिपादितं शुद्धस्यात्मनो याथात्म्यम् । जगतः कारणं तद्व्यावर्तितं प्रधानादिवादेभ्यः । प्रतिष्ठापितं स विश्वस्य स्रष्टा सैव च प्रकृतिरिति । तस्य जगद्रचनामधिकृत्य किमपि वक्तव्यम् ।

तत्र सृष्टिक्रमस्याविवक्षया सर्गभेदाभिप्रायेण वा नैकप्रक्रमासु श्रुतिषु काश्चिदात्मनः स्त्रीपुंसभावसंगमनेन द्वंद्वसृष्टिं प्रतिपादयन्ति “स वै नैव रेमे” इत्यादयः । इमं सृष्टिभेदं कविराह—

स्त्रीपुंसावात्मभागौ ते भिन्नमूर्तेस्सिसृक्षया ।

प्रसूतिभाजस्सर्गस्य तावेव पितरौ स्मृतौ ॥ (कु. २. ७.)

क्वचित् “विज्ञानं चाविज्ञानं च । सत्यं चानृतं च सत्यमभवत् ।” इत्येकस्यैव तस्यान्योन्यविरुद्धतत्तद्भावोपगमनं श्रुतिः प्रकरोति ।

द्रवसंघातकठिनः स्थूलस्सूक्ष्मो लघुर्गुरुः । (कु. २. ११.) इति कविः ।

अपः प्रथमास्सृष्ट्या ताखण्डोत्पादनक्रमेण जगत् सृज्यत इति मन्वादयः ।

यदमोघमपामन्तरुप्तं बीजमज त्वया ।

अतश्चराचरं विश्वं प्रभवस्तस्य गीयसे ॥ (कु. २. ५.) इति कविः ।

ईश्वरो नात्मनैव सर्वस्य सर्गव्यापारे व्याप्रियते । किन्तु ब्रह्माणं सृजति; स मरीच्यादीन् ; ततस्सर्गशेषस्तत्कृत एवेति स्मृतिपुरुणादयः ।

सर्गशेषप्रणयनाद्विश्रयोनैरनन्तरम् ।

पुरातनाः पुराविद्विर्घातार इति कीर्तिताः ॥ (कु. ६. ९. ) इति कविः ।

एवमपि सृष्टानखिलाननुप्राविश्य अन्तर्यामिरूपेण नियमयन् स ईश्वरः प्रशास्तीति सूत्रकाराः ।

अन्तर्यामिणः स्वरूपं तत्परतया क्रियासमभिहारेण महाकविरुपदिशति—

एवं यदात्थ भगवन्नामृष्टं नः परैः पदम् ।

प्रत्येकं विनियुक्तात्मा कथं न ज्ञास्यसि प्रभो ॥ (कु. २. ३१. )

यदा बुधैस्सर्वगतस्त्वमुच्यसे न वेत्सि भावस्थमिमं कथं जनम् ।

इति स्वहस्तोल्लिखितस्स मुग्धया रहस्युपालभ्यत चन्द्रशेखरः ॥ (कु. ५. ५८. )

या नः प्रीतिर्विरूपाक्ष त्वदनुध्यानसंभवा ।

सा किमावेद्यते तुभ्यमन्तरात्मासि देहिनाम् ॥ (कु. ६. २१. )

एवमन्यान्यपि समानतन्त्राणि पद्यान्युदाहृत्य तल्लक्षणैः कविवचोभिस्सर्वेषां श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासपुराणानां ब्रह्मणि गतिसामान्यं दर्शयितव्यम् ।

जगत्कारणत्वप्रदर्शनेन अन्तर्यामित्वप्रतिपादनेन च ब्रह्मणः सर्वज्ञत्वं अर्थसिद्धं सर्वशक्तित्वं च । तत् वेदकर्तृत्वेनापि प्रतिष्ठापयितुं शास्त्रयोनित्वन्यायमुदाहरति—

उद्धातः प्रणवो यासां न्यायैस्त्रिभिरुदीरणम् ।

कर्म यज्ञः फलं स्वर्गस्तासां त्वं प्रभवो गिराम् ॥ (कु. १२. २. )

कथं पुनरेवं सति सर्वे वेदा ब्रह्मपदमामनन्ति, निःश्रेयसं वैषां पर्यन्तगमनम्? यावता कर्म यज्ञः फलं स्वर्ग इति क्रियार्थानि स्वर्गपर्यवसानानि च वेदवचांसि कविरुपलक्षयति । यद्यपि स्वर्गफलाः क्रतवोऽलौकिका विधीयन्ते वेदेष्वित्युक्तम् । नैतत् लोकानवगतस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपादनं तत्फलमपवर्गं वा परिसंचष्टे । अत एवेतरानपेक्षं श्रुतीनां ब्रह्मणि ग्रामाण्यं रघौ दर्शितं संगच्छते—

प्रत्यक्षोऽप्यपरिच्छेदो मद्यादिर्महिमा तव ।

आप्तवागनुमानाभ्यां साध्यं त्वां प्रति का कथा ॥ (र. १०. २८. )

इहाप्तवाचः प्रथमा अनन्तरं चानुमानं गृह्यन् ब्रह्मणि स्वतन्त्रो वेदः प्रमाणम् ; तस्य सहकरोत्यनुमानमिति शास्त्रयोनित्वन्यायमनुस्मारयति । एतेन प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं वा यत्रा-

ज्ञसा क्रमते, स्थितरूपं तद्ब्रह्मोपदिशतां सापेक्षा वेदान्तानां प्रवृत्तिः स्यादिति परेषां प्रत्यवस्थान-  
मप्रयोजकं व्याख्यातम् । यथाहुः श्रीभगवत्पादाः “तत्त्वमसीति ब्रह्मात्मभावस्य शास्त्रमन्तरे-  
णानवगम्यमानत्वात्” [ब्र. शं. ३७३. ] इति ।

अहो ध्वननमार्गोऽयं कोऽपि दृष्टः कवीश्वरैः ।

अगोचरो मनोवाचां तत्त्वं येनाभिगम्यते ॥

अथवा नेह चित्रमिव किञ्चित् । निर्वेदशोकभयादयो हि स्वभावद्विष्टाः सर्व-  
प्राणिनां ध्वनिमार्गोपहितरूपाः चर्वणापथसंरोहिणो रसपरिणामं लभन्ते । उक्तं च सहृदय-  
धूर्वहैः काव्यस्य गमनिकां विशिषद्भिः कवितल्लजश्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन्द्रैः—

‘तन्त्रान्तरेषु प्रतिपाद्यमानास्ते ते पदार्था ननु ते त एव ।

निर्वेदभीशोकजुगुप्सितान्यप्यायान्ति साहित्यपथे रसत्वम् ॥

‘अनायतप्राणमसंयताक्षमब्रह्मचर्यानशनादिखेदम् ।

चित्तं महेशे निभृतं विधातुं सिद्धः कवीनां कवितैव योगः ॥

यन्मयतामुपेत्य क्षुद्रा अपि, स्वभावद्विष्टा अपि, नैकविधक्लेशोपजना अपि शोकादयः  
परिच्छेदविधुरा इव, हृदयरुचिता इव, अत्यन्तसुखनिम्ना इव संवेद्यन्ते; स कथं साक्षादपरोक्षो  
नित्यं विगलितवेद्यान्तरः स्वयमानन्दैकरसो नाविर्भविव्यति ध्वनिप्राग्भारेषु काव्येषु विशेषतः  
कालिदासीयेष्विति ।

तदित्यं नाम अतिगभीर ईश्वराख्यो भावभूमा कविवचोभिर्व्याख्यातः । अथ को  
जीवः? कः प्रपञ्चः? कथं संसारगमनं? कीदृशं च तन्निवृत्त्युपायः तत्त्वदर्शनम्? अन्तरङ्ग-  
बहिरङ्गैरुपायैर्यावदिदं नोदेति दर्शनं तावत् कथमाचरितव्यं प्रेयःप्रेप्सुभिरित्येवमादि निखि-  
लमर्थजातं सपरिकरं सन्दिदेश महाकविः; यथा भारतीयरूपकपरीक्षणोद्यताः कीत्  
प्रभृतयो विमर्शका मेनिरे, तथा न तत्त्वदर्शनानुबन्धिष्वमीष्वर्थेषु तूष्णीक उदास्ते इति सवि-  
स्तरं व्युत्पादनमिहावसरप्राप्तमपि निबन्धान्तरपर्याप्तमिति साम्प्रतमस्य कृते नाधिकं प्रयत्यते ।  
तदिममपि विषयं खण्डप्रबन्धात्मनाऽस्यामेव प्राचीनविद्याविमर्शिन्यामचिरादाविश्विकीर्णामः ।

तथापीदमस्तु वक्ष्यमाणार्थस्य प्रदर्शनाय सफलकर्मयोगोपसंहारपरं कविवचनम्—

अद्ब्रह्म सम्यगाम्नातं यदग्नौ विधिना हुतम् ।

यच्च तप्तं तपस्तस्य विपक्वं फलमद्य नः ॥

॥ ओम् ॥

## NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, March, 1927.

W. Norman Brown contributes a paper on "Change of Sex as a Hindu Story Motif". He deals with it under five headings—bathing in an enchanted pool or stream, by curse or blessing of a deity, exchanging sex with a Yakṣa, by magic and by the power of righteousness or in consequence of wickedness. There are times when the change is expected and times when it is not. At times it is welcome, at others it is not. A change from woman to man is welcome, not the reverse. He suggests that the origin of the notion of sex change may be the desire of members of one sex to belong to the other, or sex perversion (eunuchs imitating women in dress, occupation and in every way possible) or superstition (parents giving their sons names of girls to escape malevolent spirits), or adoption by adults of the appearance of other sex to escape misfortune or unfavourable attention of superior powers.

Leonard Bloomfield writes on "Some Rules of Pāṇini". He discusses the rule *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* and the following. He says that the treatment of the words in the *sarvādigaṇa* is clumsy and there is repetition. He says that the list *sarvādi* should be read without the words *nema*, *purva*, etc., *sva* and *antara*.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGELANDLICHEN GESELLSCHAFT, New Folge Band 6, Heft 1, 1927.

A. Hillebrandt contributes an article on "Anschanungen über das Alter des R̥gveda" (Observations on the Age of the R̥gveda). He discusses the views of many scholars who have dealt with the subject, like Max Müller, Jacobi, Tilak, A.C. Das, etc.; he says that none of them has been able to find out the right solution of the problem. He says that Buddhist Literature and Grammatical Literature furnish us with the latest limit. From Buddhist Literature and Grammatical Literature we can conclude that Vedic period had ended by the 5th Century B. C. The earliest limit is still obscure. He discusses Thibaut's view of the age of the R̥gveda and says that the period he assigns is too wide. The recent archaeological discoveries reveal some new facts. The article will continue.

The journal contains the report of the meeting of the German Oriental Society at Hamburg from 28th September to October 2nd 1926. The following papers are noticed regarding the section dealing with India :—

H. Meyer Benfy spoke on " Kālidāsa's Śākuntala and its Source." The story rests on the old Indo-germanic folklore of the forgotten bride which underwent many changes in India and was added to the series of tales about Indian heroes. Its most original and most complete form is seen in Kālidāsa's drama. The episode in the Mahābhārata contains a very distorted form of the story.

Sten Konow dealt with the linguistic and literary affinities of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

St. Sohayer read a paper on the meaning of the word Upaniṣad.

O. Strauss contributed an article on a Sūtra seen in Pāṇini and Mahābhāṣya regarding the Theory of Knowledge. He compared it with Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā theories and suggested its importance to the history of Indian Logic.

E. Lenmann contributed a paper on " The Goddess Aditi and Vedic Astronomy".

M. Walleser read a paper on " Sanskrit and Indogermanic."

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, April 1927.

C.A.F. Rhys Davids contributes an article on "The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism". There is very little contemporary record regarding Buddhism at its inception. The only works available are Mahā-vagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka and one or two portions of the five Nikāyas. Here we get only a bare outline. There is evidence to show that Gautama Buddha was not the only teacher responsible for the body of teaching known as Dhamma; Gautama's fellow-workers were not merely listeners, disciples, sons of fishermen; they were fellow-teachers. The names of most of them are unknown. We know little of those whose names are recorded. Ultimately all the teachings were brought round the central personality—Buddha. The writer gives many authorities to explain his point.

E. J. Johnson gives the readings of the Buddhacarita, cantos i—viii, as shown by a manuscript from Nepal, which was not known when Cowell edited the text, but which is the original copied with additions and alterations by Amṛtānanda, from whose copy of it were derived the three manuscripts used by Cowell.

R. L. Turner's article on "The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan" is a purely philological paper of considerable interest.

N. D. Mironov deals with the name Avalokiteśvara as applied to Bodhisattva. It is proved by Chinese and by Sanskrit fragments of Saddharma-puṇḍarīka that the original name was Avalokita-lokeśvara which became Avalokiteśvara. He also discusses the central Asian successions of Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka.

F. W. Thomas and G. L. M. Clauson publish a Chinese Buddhist text in Tibetan characters. The book is Sukhāvativyūha.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, March, 1927.

Prof. H. Heras contributes a paper on "The Final Defeat of Mihirakula." He compares the two authorities on the subject—The Mandasor inscription, according to which Yaśodharman defeated Milhirakula, and the account of Hiuen Tsang, according to whom the victorious monarch was Bālādityarāja of Magadha. He discusses the views of other scholars on the points and the various explanations of the inconsistency. He concludes that there is no inconsistency, that Mihirakula was once defeated by Yaśodharman, but was routed by Bālādityarāja.

Jwala Prasad Singhal writes about "Some lights on Ancient world History from the Purāṇas." He thinks that the original home of the Āryans was the Punjab, that Nāgas, Daityas, Dānavas, Garudas and Devas were non-Āryan people and Manuṣyas were Āryans, according to the Purāṇas. Kāśyapa was the common ancestor of the former group—only a reference to common origin—and Manu was the progenitor of the Āryas. He identifies the region of the Caspian Sea, Tibet, Burma and China as various places mentioned in the Purāṇas. He deals with Dravidians, Egypt and the Maya civilization. He tries to explain the various Avatāras of Viṣṇu like the Narasimha, Vāmana, as pointing out the inter-relation of the various peoples in the ancient world.

R. Sreenivasa Raghava Iyengar makes some remarks on "Ancient South Indian Gold coinage." He says that gold coinage was essentially for the purpose of giving *dakṣiṇā* in religious ceremonies. He describes various kinds of gold coins discovered till now.

V. V. Śarma publishes in Roman characters the text of Sudhāle-pavidhāna, a work on the method of plastering walls for painting. He



describes the contents of the book. The text is a small one containing 46 stanzas.

The introduction by A Schiefner to his translation of Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India is translated. The author of the book is a Tibetan Lāma of the 16th—17th Century A. D.

L. P. P. Śarma draws attention to the two Kośalas in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. Maṇindra Mohan Bose discusses the Kalinga Edicts. The article will continue.

"The Origin and Development of Numerals"—This is a very learned article by Maṇindra Nāth Banerjee. The article will continue.

Prabhat Kumar Mukerjee continues his article on "Indian Literature abroad". He is dealing with China. The article will continue.

Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya makes some observations on Dinnāga's Nyāyapraveśa. He compares the Sanskrit text (to be published by Principal Dhruva in Gackwād Oriental Series) with Tibetan and Chinese translations, and throws out much valuable information.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, Vol. VIII. Pts. III and IV.

Prof. Franklin Edgerton contributes an article on "The Hour of Death" in pt. III. He discusses the beliefs according to various religions, regarding the influence of the place where a man dies and his mental condition at the time of death, on his condition after.

In pt. III there is published the English translation by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of Senart's Introduction to his translation of Bhagavadgītā. The views given in it are of the usual type that we see from a European Scholar. Question of Chronology, the relation of the Gīta and the Mahābhārata, the variety of authors at work and consequent inconsistencies, are fully discussed.

There is a rather belated obituary note and appreciation of Mahāmahopādhyaya Dr. T. Ganapati Śāstri.

In pt. IV, Sukumar Sen deals with the use of the cases in Vedic prose. The article is of a highly technical nature; but it is dealt with in a scholarly way. The article will continue.

V. R. R. Dikshitar contributes an article on "The art of War as practised in South India". He has drawn his material from Tamil literature. It is not taken from any work dealing with the art of war, but the material is culled from various works in the rich field of Tamil literature.

Prof. V. K. Rājvāde attempts to explain the meanings of certain Ṛgvedic words whose meanings still remain doubtful. The words that he has selected are *sva* and its various compound forms, and *atri*.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. April—July, 1927.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah continues his "Vedic studies". He writes on "*Sunam*" in the April issue and says that the word must mean "*dear*" and "*own*". He examines a large number of passages where the word occurs. He examines the word *svasara* in the June issue. He assigns the sole meaning "*winning*" to it as against the interpretation of other commentators, ancient and modern, who assigns other meanings also. He also examines the word *a-rati* and gives it the meaning "*he who shines*"—also against the authority of all interpreters. In the July issue, he takes up the word *phaliga*. He equates it with the word *sphaṭika*—already suggested by Hillebrandt.

Umesh Chandra Bhaṭṭācārya continues his article on Brahmavidyā and Sūfism. This is a criticism of Von Krimi's book on Islamic culture, where he says that Sufism owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy, known as the Vedānta School.

N. C. Metha has a note on a Mediæval Jaina image, in the April issue. He explains the image from the artistic point of view.

In the May issue Umeshcandra Bhaṭṭācārya writes an article on the interpretation of the Upaniṣads. He discusses the problem whether we can speak of a philosophy of the Upaniṣads. The article is not concluded yet. The main trend of his paper is that the Upaniṣads do not show any uniformity and as such must be classified according to their subject-matter.

J. Charpentier publishes a long article, in parts, on "the Meaning and Etymology of Pūjā." Two parts appear in May and July issues. He contrasts the sacrifices of the Āryans with the image-worship of the non-Āryan Dravidians—which latter is *pūjā*. He derives the word from *pūṣa* to smear (a Dravidian word)—a derivation long ago suggested by Gundert. He says that the most important item in *pūjā* is "the washing of the idol with water or with honey, curds, sungred water, etc., and the smearing or daubing it with certain ointments, powders, or oily substances, which are generally of a brilliant red or yellow colour." He gives various authorities to describe such a practice in Hindu temples. Then he gives the "magic ideas that may underlie this smearing."

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, March 1927.

Manomohan Ganguly contributes an article on "Indian Architecture." In India architecture has always been the aesthetic expression of religious spirit. That is why temples survive, but not the palaces of ancient kings.

In South Indian temples, we see a historical development in the same temple, owing to successive additions to the original temple. Not so, in Upper India. The kings lavished the state revenue on building temples. Many examples are given. Various kinds of architectures are discussed—Hindu, Jain, Bengali. He concludes by saying that a Hindu, though a pessimist in philosophy, is not so in art. He spiritualises matter. There is a spirit of earnestness and self-sacrifice in Hindu architecture. There is originality, vigour and genius in Indian Architecture.

Rai Bahadur Śaratchandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. writes on "The Bull, Roarer in India". This is a musical instrument, which is the most ancient and sacred religious symbol of the world. The writer draws attention to the use of this instrument among the primitive tribes in various parts of India. It has a magical significance also. Only one specimen is preserved in the Indian Museum. Now the bull-roarers are known to be used as toys.

Dr. A. Banerji Śāstri, M.A., Ph. D. (Oxon) contributes an article on Ancient Indian Historical tradition. He criticises European Scholars who deplore the lack of historical sense in India. He says that this judgment is due to a want of proper examination of evidences in Sanskrit works. The author finds a historical tradition (a Vedic tradition) in Nighaṇṭu, Nirukta. Bṛhaddevatā and Sarvānukramaṇi. He examines the division of mantras into *parokṣakṛta*, *pratyakṣakṛta* and *ādhyātmika*, which terms, he explains as known traditionally, known historically and contemporary.

#### ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR INDOLOGIE UND IRANISTIK VOL. 4, PART I.

Erich Frauwallner writes an article on 'Investigations of the early Upaniṣad's. He tries to work upon a particular group among large number of doctrines of various kinds and various ages comprised in the Upaniṣads and to fix the characteristic features of each doctrine and their relation to one another. Walter Wüst writes a note on the R̥gvedic word *tavāgam*. It occurs only once. It is usually derived from *tava* (strength) and the root *gā* (to go). He suggests that the second element must be *gau* (cow), and the total meaning is "dio Kuh anregend" (inciting a cow). He compares the formation of the word to that of *śikṣānara*.

#### IBID PART II.

Hormann Lemmoll writes on the river *rasā*. This word occurs in the R̥gveda as the name of a river. He makes a detailed examination and compares the word to the Avesta word *ranha*. Alfred Hillebrandt makes

some observations on vedic mythology. He says that Āhura Mithra has nothing to do with Āhuramazda and this nothing with Varuṇa. This view of his was opposed from various quarters and now he substantiates his position. He then discusses the question of Aśvins. There is an opinion that Aśvins cannot be the morning and the evening stars, nor the sun and the moon. He criticises this view.

Th. Zachariae writes about the early history of Sanskrit Philology. He begins with a discussion of the date of Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya. Then he says that Bühler's claim that, when he found out the manuscript, it was a novelty, is not right, as it was long before known in Europe. He also discusses how other Sanskrit books were known in Europe in earlier centuries.

IBID VOL. V, PART I.

Wilhelm Prinz makes some notes on Indian Subjects. He explains the word *kumāradeśṇa* (Rgveda X-34-7 c) as a *tatpuruṣa* compound as against *bahuvrīhi* till now accepted. Then he writes about the termination-*kr̥tvas*. A note on a passage from Daśakumāracarita follows. He says that Hertel and Meyers have not understood the description in the passage. Then he draws attention to a parallelism between an incident in the Indian Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa as current in Burma.

Hans Oertel's review of Caland's edition of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇvīya recension is a good guide for reference. He makes a masterly analysis of many aspects of the text.

ZEITSCHRIFT der DOUSCHEN MORGENLANDLICHEN GESELSCHAFT. NEW SERIES, VOL. VI, PART 2.

There is a long article by Otto Strauss on the Ancient Indian Speculation about Language and its Problems. He discusses the subject historically commencing from Yāska and ending with Patañjali. Towards the close of the article he gives some Vārtikas and the comments of Patañjali thereon, relating to the subject.

INDIAN ART AND LETTERS (THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY, LONDON) VOL. 1, PART 1, 1927.

The Influence of Indian Civilization on Further India : This paper was read before the Society by Szanno Karpolos. The author draws attention to two anecdotes in the Rāmāyaṇa as current outside India, referring to Sītā's banishment. The quotation shows how stories undergo changes during migration from country to country. It is suggested that the Rāmāyaṇa as current in S. India might throw some light on the story as current outside India.

Goerge Coedos's paper on recent archaeological development in Siam throws much light on the various schools of art in Siam.

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim contributes a paper on the archaeological research in Java and Bali.

There are forty-seven illustrations in the journal, all highly interesting. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT für die KUNDE des MORGENLANDES. VOL. 34, PART 1, 1927.

Erich Frauwallner has a short paper on the Doctrine of Elements in Sāmkhya. He discusses the two theories, that of elements being formed out of corresponding *tanmātras* and that of elements being formed by the mixture of *tanmātras*.

O. Stein continues his detailed study on the two editions of *Saptasatī* JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. July—September 1926.

M. N. P. Chakravarti draws attention to many vernacular words occurring in Sarvānandā's commentary on Amara.

Felix Lacoto writes on the metrical form of the Epic Śloka. October—December 1926.

A. Meerworth has written an article on the Kathakali in Malabar. The original is in English. The French translation is published here. The article describes the staging of the play Narakāsuravadha. The article is interesting, on account of the close relation of Kathakali to ancient Hindu Theatre.

# **Vibhramaviveka** **OF** **Mandana Miśra.**

EDITED BY

MAHA MAHOPADHYAYA VIDYAVACASPATI

**S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S.,**

*Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras*

AND

VEDANTALANKARA

**T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSITAR,**

*Professor of Vedānta, Sanskrit College, Madras.*





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श्रीः

## विभ्रमविवेकः आचार्यमण्डनमिश्रविरचितः



आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।  
परीक्षकाणां विभ्रान्तौ विवादात्सा विविच्यते ॥ १ ॥

असच्चकास्ति न व्योमकुसुमं न तथोत्थितम् ।  
अर्थः प्रकाशतेऽतो धीस्तदाकारेति केचन ॥ २ ॥

असंभवि च यावच्च तावत्संपरिहीयताम् ।  
संवेद्याकारसंत्यागो न भ्रान्तित्वेऽवकल्पते ॥ ३ ॥

एकदेशावबो [पबा] धेन कल्प्य [ल्प] माने च बाधके ।  
न सर्वबाधनं युक्तमिति न्यायविदः स्थिताः ॥ ४ ॥

अन्यो बहिर्भासमानो नान्तरर्हति धारणम् ।  
असक्तै[त्तै]व प[व]रं तस्य भ्रान्तित्वानुगुणा हि सा ॥ ५ ॥

नान्तर्वर्तितया भ्रान्तिरसत्त्वेन तु सेष्यते ।  
अकल्पयित्वात [न्त] स्तस्मादसत्तां खल्वचोक्नुपत् ॥ ६ ॥

अन्तर्वर्तिबहिर्भासो भ्रान्तित्वानुपपत्तिः ।  
असत्त्वेनैव तत्कृप्तौ न प्रमाणवती हि सा ॥ ७ ॥

यथावभासमानस्य कल्प्या सत्ता नियोगतः ।  
अन्तर्भावेऽपि च बहिर्भावो [सो] भ्रान्तिर्न युज्यते ॥ ८ ॥

अख्यातेरविशेषेण स्यात्सुषुप्तेऽपि विभ्रमः ।

अख्यातिः खलु तत्रापि न चाख्यातिर्विशिष्यते ॥ ९ ॥

उपा[प]लम्भस्य न पदमसतोऽत्र प्रकाशनम् ।

अत एव यतो[सतो]भ्रान्तिः सम्यक् ख्यातौ तथा भवेत् ॥ १० ॥

युज्यते नान्यथाख्यातिर्निरधिष्ठानविभ्रमे ।

स्वप्ने हि निरधिष्ठानो विभ्रमो वीतसंशयः ॥ ११ ॥

तत्राप्यवर्तमानं चेद्ब्रूयते वर्तमानवत् ।

अवर्तमानस्यासत्ता खपुष्पात् विशिष्यते ॥ १२ ॥

अत्यन्तानुभूतानां परस्परपराणुदाम् ।

मृ [दृ]ष्टेश्चावर्तमानस्य न ख्यानं वर्तमानवत् ॥ १३ ॥

खपुष्पतुल्ये काख्यातिर्निरूपेणैव भासनात् ।

तदपि व्यवहाराङ्गं रूपवत्त्वेन भासनात् ॥ १४ ॥

कल्पनायामपित्वेव [वं] नासा [सत्] ख्यातिविवर्जनम् ।

प्रकारान्तरसंसर्गो नन्वसन्नेव भासते ॥ १५ ॥

तस्मादसत् एवेदं रूपवत्त्वेन भासनम् ।

अवश्यकल्पनीयत्वात्कल्पनायाश्च लाघवात् ॥ १६ ॥

प्राक्तत्त्वज्ञानसंस्कारास्तत्प्रबोधस्सकारणः ।

स्मरामीति प्रमोषस्स [श्च] हेतुरिन्द्रिययोगिनः ॥ १७ ॥

भ्रान्तौ सहाक्षैर्मनसो दृ [दृ]ष्टान्तर्विवर्तिता ।

कायप्रकर्षमरणमूर्च्छाशोकामयादिषु ॥ १८ ॥

इच्छेदेकेषु [उच्छेदेकेषु] बहुलं संस्कारस्यानुवर्ण [र्त]नम् ।

परपक्षेषु कल्या [कल्य]हि भूयिष्ठानीति दृश्यते ॥ १९ ॥

सर्वसंस्कारविच्छेदिमरणान्तरिते स्पृतौ ।

जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यत इति स्थितम् ॥ २० ॥

प्राक् [संस्कारप्रबोधे च कथं तत्त्वप्नविभ्रमे ।]

मन्दसंस्कारसहकृदुच्छेदे तेन वा विना ॥ २१ ॥

दोषः क्षतं [दोषक्षतं] मनः कार्ये [रिं] प्रणिधानादिवर्जितम् ।

दोषैरपि [वि] कृतं स्वस्थं प्रणिधानादिसंस्कृतम् ॥ २२ ॥

न कार्यवज्जागरायामहो नयविदां परः ।

दोषक्षतिः कार्यशक्तिहानिरूपा च विद्यते ॥ २३ ॥

अतिरेकश्च कार्यस्येत्यहो न्यायविवेकिता ।

अध्यारोपे भवेद्वौणी वाहीके गोमतिर्यथा ॥ २४ ॥

न संविद्वा[दा]नुगुण्यं स्यान्न विवेकमतिर्यदि ।

अख्यातिरपि संवित्तिं नैवान्वेति यतो मतिः ॥ २५ ॥

सामानाधिकरण्येन रूप्यमेतदिति स्थितम् [ता] ।

तस्माद्विभ्रम एवायमिति युक्तो विनिश्चयः ॥ २६ ॥

न संविदनुसारेण निमित्तं तस्य युज्यते ।

अतोऽनिर्वचनीयत्वं प[व]रं ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ॥ २७ ॥

अविद्याया अविद्यात्वमन्यथा परिणी [ही] यते ।

सत्ये[त्वे]न मिथ्या शून्यत्वे दुर्निरूपं प्रकाशनम् ॥ २८ ॥

सदसद्ब्रह्मनिर्वाच्यां तामविद्यां प्रचक्षते ।

वस्तुनोन्वेषणान्त [णा त] स्यां बाह्याभ्यन्तरवर्तिनाम् [नः] ॥ २९ ॥

न युज्यते यत्र तत्र वेद्यवस्तुनि तत्क्षतेः ।

नामरूपप्रपञ्चोऽयमविद्यैव च वर्ण्यते ॥ ३० ॥

अन्यस्य त्वन्यथाख्यातौ न प्रपञ्चव्यपह्वः ।

अख्यातौ शून्यमेव स्यात् प्रपञ्चः किनिबन्धनः ॥ ३१ ॥

अप्रपञ्चे सप्रपञ्चरूपो भातीति युज्यते ।

अस्फुटा[ठ]ग्रहणे काममा[म्मा]भासि स्फुटमात्मना ॥ ३२ ॥

अविद्यमाना[ने]तद्ध्या[द्वा]स्यै वैश्वरूप्यं वृथा कृतम् ।  
 चित्रो [तौ] विचित्राकारायां प्रपञ्चात्मतयैव हि ॥ ३३ ॥  
 अनिमोक्षस्तथा च स्यादथवानित्यतापतेत् ।  
 अनेकाकारविभ्रान्तौ गन्धर्वनगरादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥  
 आकारा व्यक्तमेकस्या धियोऽसत्याश्चकासति ।  
 न भूतं चेतसो रूपं नाध्यारोपास्फुटा[ट]ग्रहौ ॥ ३५ ॥  
 विभ्रमेषु विवर्तत्वमतो ब्रह्मविदां मतम् ।  
 असतो भासनायोगाद्विरोधात् संविदोपरः [रै] ॥ ३६ ॥  
 अवोचन्निपुणंमन्या विभ्रमं सम्यगग्रहम् ।  
 न किञ्चिद्भासते चेति विरुद्धमिव दृश्यते ॥ ३७ ॥  
 भासत्त्वे [ते] रूपवत्त्वेन नासत्संविद्विरोधकम् ।  
 अन्यस्याप्यन्यथारूप्यातिरत एव न युज्यते ॥ ३८ ॥  
 अन्यत्प्रकाशते चान्यद्ब्राह्ममित्यतिदुर्घटम् ।  
 आलम्बनं न हेतुत्वमात्रादक्षेऽपि तद्यतः ॥ ३९ ॥  
 आलम्बनं न हेतुत्वमात्रेण व्यवतिष्ठते ।  
 यद्यालम्बनरूपाच्च[पा च]धीरन्यदवभासते ॥ ४० ॥  
 ततोऽनालम्बनैव स्यात् तस्य तल्लक्षणच्युतेः ।  
 तथा च तत्त्वभावाया नार्थतत्त्वविनिश्चयः ॥ ४१ ॥  
 सापेक्षाया अपि ग्राह्यहीना नो चेदनात्मिका ।  
 आलम्बना नैवमस्ति तद्रूपाव्यभिचारतः ॥ ४२ ॥  
 संवेद्यादात्मि[द्यत्वि]कत्वाच्च प्रमाणं परिनिस्पृहम् ।  
 स्पृतित्वाशङ्कया नात्र वर्तमानेन निश्चयः ॥ ४३ ॥  
 विवेकाग्रहणं यस्माद्वेतुभावेन युज्यते ।  
 हेतूपघाते खलु यस्तदभावे स्फुटग्रहः ॥ ४४ ॥

यत्नेनानुपलब्धे च तदभावे च निश्चयः ।

सदृशादृष्टचिन्ताद्याः स्मृतिबीजस्य बोधकाः ॥

[इन्द्रियाणां तथा] दोषात्प्रायेणाव्यक्षविभ्रमः ॥ ४५ ॥

इति पूर्वः पक्षः ॥

एकान्तसत्त्वे का भ्रान्तिरसत्त्वे किं प्रकाशताम् ।

द्वयानुगुण्याद्द्वानां संमता ख्यातिरन्यथा ॥ ४६ ॥

यत्र न प्रथते किञ्चित् तत्र तावन्न विभ्रमः ।

सुषुप्ता [विव] भूच्छाया तमा [मो] भावो यथेक्ष्यते ॥ ४७ ॥

द्वयोरेकस्य वा ख्यातिरसम्यग्वित [भ्र] मो मतः ।

तत्र केयमसम्यक्ता विज्ञानस्थमपाठवम् ॥ ४८ ॥

अथ सर्वप्रकाराणामग्रहः कस्यचिद्ग्रहः ।

वस्तुनोऽतत्प्रकारस्य तथा ख्यातिस्तु नेष्यते ॥ ४९ ॥

तत्र दूरस्थिते सूक्ष्मे भवत्यपर[ट्टु]दर्शनम् ।

सामान्यमात्रख्यातिर्वा न भ्रमश्च प्रतीयते ॥ ५० ॥

न च सर्वात्मनाप्य [र्थ] स्य ज्ञा [नं कुत्रापि] बोधकम् ।

सर्वविज्ञानमिथ्यात्वमापन्नं पुनरन्यथा ॥ ५१ ॥

अतो नावर्तमानत्वात् ज्ञा [त्वाज्ञा] नात्स्वप्नमतिर्मृषा ।

वर्तमानत्वबोधात्तु तथैकत्वाधिरोपणात् ॥ ५२ ॥

मिथ्यारजतधीर्नात्र विवेकानवधारणात् ।

प्रत्यभिज्ञानविभ्रान्तौ न स्मृतित्वं न गम्यते ॥ ५३ ॥

एकस्य च विविक्तत्वादितरस्य विविक्तता ।

प्रत्यक्षादविवेकाच्च युक्तः प्रत्यक्षविभ्रमः ॥ ५४ ॥

स्यात्स्मृतादविवेकाच्च स्मृतिगोचरविभ्रमः ।

अवर्तमानत्वाज्ञानाद्दर्तमानभ्रमो यदि ॥ ५५ ॥



न भाति विभ्रमस्तस्मात् त्वेधा युक्तस्तु संशयः ।  
 नियता न प्रवृत्तिः स्यान्नेष्टा चेत्ख्यातिरन्यथा ॥ ५६ ॥  
 न दृश्यादृश्ययोर्भेदः ख्यातिश्चेन्नेप्सितात्मनः ।  
 ननु नो विपरीतार्था धीः प्रतीतिविरोधतः ॥ ५७ ॥  
 अनाश्वासाच्च रजतप्रत्ययो रजते स्मृतिः ।  
 नैतन्न हि प्रवर्तेत शुक्तिकाशकले तदा ॥ ५८ ॥  
 रजते सा प्रवृत्तिश्चेन्न तस्यासन्निधानतः ।  
 असन्निधानबोधाच्चेत्प्रवृत्तिनियमः कुतः ॥ ५९ ॥  
 प्रवर्तते यत्तत्रैव तत्तत्सन्निधिकारितः [म्] ।  
 अन्यत्र भेदग्रहणाद्विवेकाग्रहणार्थता [तथा] ॥ ६० ॥  
 प्रवृत्तिभेदस्सादृश्याद्विवेकाग्रहणं यदि ।  
 अदृष्टेषु प्रवर्तेत यो [लो] घादिष्वविवेकतः ॥ ६१ ॥  
 न तत्र यदि तद्बुद्धिः शुक्तिकाशकलेऽपि न ।  
 अथास्ति विपरीतार्था ख्यातिर्निह्नूयते कथम् ॥ ६२ ॥  
 अदृष्टत्वादप्रवृत्तिरशुक्तिकाशकले समा ।  
 दृष्टं तथेन रूपेण तत्प्रवृत्तेरकारणम् ॥ ६३ ॥  
 दृष्टस्मृताविवेकाच्चेदिदमत्र परीक्ष्यताम् ।  
 तत्त्वबोधादपा[था]तत्त्वबोधाद्रजतबोध[वेद]नात् ॥ ६४ ॥  
 दृष्टेः [ष्टे] प्रवृत्तिः पूर्वस्मिन्विपरीतार्थतामते [तेः] ।  
 न दृश्या[ष्टा]दृश्य[ष्ट]योर्भेदः परस्मिन्नोपयोगिनि[नी] ॥ ६५ ॥  
 [खयोगदर्शने ते हि समारोपोपयोगिनी ।]  
 नादृष्टेऽसंप्रयुक्ते वा चाक्षुषः स्याद्विपर्ययः ॥ ६६ ॥  
 स्मृतिप्रमाणफलयोर्नानात्वं यदि चेप्यते ।  
 विवेचितस्तयोस्त्वार्थोऽविवेकः किनिबन्धनः ॥ ६७ ॥

अतत्त्वात्सर्वविषयं विविनक्ति स्मृतिर्न चेत् ।

सामान्यदृष्टावा[व]न्यस्य स्मृते [तौ] स्याद्वासद [दा] भ्रमः ॥ ६८ ॥

स्मरामीति विवेको न यदि नैतत्प्रकल्प्यते ।

फलाभेदे फलोन्नेये [य] ज्ञानभेदमतिः कुतः ॥ ६९ ॥

स्मरामीति च विज्ञानं स्मृतेरन्यदुदाहृतम् ।

न च मानफलाद्विन्ना[त्] तत्सिद्धयति फलादृते ॥ ७० ॥

मनोदोषाद्यदि स्वार्थो न स्मृत्या प्रविविच्यते ।

तिमिरादौ कथं स्वस्थे स्वान्ते केशादिविभ्रमः ॥ ७१ ॥

न तत्रापि मनोदृ[ष्टु]ष्टमर्थान्तरविवेचनात् ।

ज्ञानादेव हि दृ[ष्टु]ष्टत्वकल्पनायाश्च गौरवात् ॥ ७२ ॥

बुध्यमानो विवेकश्च [ञ्च] पश्यामीन्द्रियदोषतः ।

छ [द्वि]त्वादिरूपान् दीपादीनिति लोकः प्रभाषते ॥ ७३ ॥

इन्द्रियाणां दोषभेदान्नियतभ्रान्तिदर्शनम् ।

न स्याद्यस्याग्रहे दोषव्यापार इति निश्चयः ॥ ७४ ॥

न च सर्वा नियोगेन भ्रान्ति[न्तिः]सादृश्यबन्धनात् [ना] ।

श्वेते पीतभ्रमो दृष्टो मधुरे तिक्तविभ्रमः ॥ ७५ ॥

अव्यापृतौ च तत्प्राप्तेर्नातः [न्तः] पित्तप्रवेदनम् ।

अत्यासन्नस्य संवित्तिर्दुर्लभा चाञ्जनादिवत् ॥ ७६ ॥

न चाक्षवृत्तितज्जन्मजा न [ज्ञान] भेदाविवेकजाः ।

द्विचन्द्रादिभ्रमास्ते हि न प्रत्यक्षे न च स्मृते ॥ ७७ ॥

अन्यथालम्बनत्वे च न निरालम्बना मतिः ।

अन्येनापि हि रूपेण चक्षुर्नालम्बतेऽक्षधीः ॥ ७८ ॥

आलम्बनार्थस्तद्युक्त [क्तो] व्यवहारस्य योग्यता ।

अन्यस्यापि हि नैवान्यस्स इत्येव हि दर्शितः [म्] ॥ ७९ ॥

प्रवृत्तिशुक्तिशकले तथा च रजतार्थिनः ।  
 आभासते कथं चिच्च तन्नात्यन्तं न भासते ॥ ८० ॥  
 तेन नाबाधिता[नावेदिका] यत्तु तद्रूपाव्यभिचारिता ।  
 प्रमाणमनपेक्षं ह्यन्यथात्रपाकरम् ॥  
 [प्रमाणमनपेक्षं स्यादन्यथा प्रतिपादनम् ॥] ८१ ॥  
 त्रपाकरं कथं तन्न स्वतःप्रामाण्यवादिनाम् ।  
 अप्यन्येऽव्यभिचारेण धीप्रामाण्यमुपागमत् [न्] ॥ ८२ ॥  
 बोधादेव प्रमाणत्वमिति मीमांसकस्थितिम् ।<sup>१</sup>  
 विदन्नव्यभिचारेण तां व्युदस्यत्यपण्डितः ॥ ८३ ॥  
 अर्थेनाव्यभिचारश्चेन्नाबुद्धेन प्रमीयते ।  
 ज्ञानस्याव्यभिचाराच्च तद्बोध इति दुर्घटम् ॥ ८४ ॥  
 उपास्योऽव्यतिरेकश्च तज्ज्ञानस्य तथान्यथा ।  
 नासिद्धाव्यतिरेकेण स परा [मृश्यते क्वचित्] ॥ ८५ ॥  
 अपि चाव्यतिरेकोऽपि ज्ञानरूपेण बोध्यते ।  
 ख्यातौ च विपरीतायां तद्विरोधप्रसङ्गतः ॥ ८६ ॥  
 तथा सति तदेवास्तु विषयस्यावबोधकम् ।  
 अर्थे [र्थो] नाव्यतिरेकेण तत्सामर्थ्यात्तसंविदा ॥ ८७ ॥  
 व्यभिचाराप्रतीत्या चेदप्रामाण्यनिराकृतिः ।  
 दूषिते व्यभिचारेण न स्याज्ज्ञानेऽप्रमाणता ॥ ८८ ॥  
 नैतदव्यभिचारेण प्रामाण्यं यस्य दुष्यति ।  
 व्यभिचारादसौ छिन्नं यथा नाक्षं तथापि तत् ॥ ८९ ॥

१. The reading adopted by Vācaspatimiśra in his Nyāyakaṇikā (p. 161) is given above. The reading found in the manuscript of the Vibhramaviveka is:—

बोधादेव प्रमाणत्वमिति मीमांसकस्थितिः ।  
 पदं न व्यभिचारेण तां व्युदस्यत्यपण्डितः ॥

## THE DATE OF THE MAṆIMĒKALAI.

By

K. G. SETHA AIYAR, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

*Retired Judge, Trivandrum.*

A probable relation between the Tamil epic poem *Maṇimēkalai* and the Buddhist logician Dīnnāga has in recent years been suggested by some scholars. Under the heading, "*Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India*" Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppaswāmi Śāstrī, writes a valuable article in the last issue of the Journal of Oriental Research (Vol. I pp. 191) where he shows the remarkable parallelism existing between the concepts of logic and philosophy expounded by Aṛaṇaṇaṭikaḷ in the *Maṇimēkalai* and those found in the *Nyāyapravēśa*. He also attempts to make out that the Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai* must be assigned to a period between the dates of Dīnnāga and Dharmakīrti; and that such period should be the beginning of the 7th century, 'however this view might clash with the current notions about the Śāṅgam age of Tamil Literature'. These latter, he tells us are but "mytho-poetic theories" (whatever the expression may mean) to which 'historical truth should never be allowed to surrender'. Incidentally he makes the interesting announcement that 'perhaps Aṛaṇaṇaṭikaḷ was a historical character and was no other than the great Ācārya Dharmapāla' who according to Beal's *Buddhist Records of The Western World* and Dr. Satiścandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic* should be assigned to C. 600-635 A. C. These interesting conclusions, which the learned Mahāmahopādhyāya has stated, require some scrutiny before they can be accepted, in spite of the claim made for them that they are historically correct.

Let it be granted that the principles of Buddhist logic as expounded by Aṛaṇaṇaṭikaḷ are almost entirely based on the *Nyāyapravēśa*, and that the Tamil epic repeats the very definitions and illustrations in the same order as in the Sanskrit work. Is it settled beyond controversy that the *Nyāyapravēśa* is the work of Dīnnāga or that Dīnnāga flourished in the earlier part of the 5th century, as Prof. Kuppaswāmi Śāstrī tells us? On neither of these questions has there been so far as I know, a consensus of opinion. There have been brave assertions: but obviously they cannot be implicitly accepted without independent examination.

As regards the authorship of the *Nyāyapravēṣa*, I know Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya hold that it is one of Dinnāga's works. Admittedly the Sanskrit text as published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*,<sup>1</sup> says nothing about the authorship; and these two scholars infer the name of the author from Tibetan sources. It is a significant fact that Hiuen-Tsang, who thought so highly of the work that he carried from India a copy of it and translated it, was not aware even by tradition, and does not say that Dinnāga wrote it. On the other hand, though he does not tell us the name of the author, we can plainly see from his *Travels* that in his view the work had been written by some one of high authority, who lived long anterior to Dinnāga. In dealing with Dinnāga, he uses this language: "This Bodhisattva, after Buddha had left the world, received the doctrine and assumed the vestments. Having weighed the character of the *Hetu Vidyā Śāstra*, its words so deep, its reasonings so wide, and (having considered) that students vainly endeavoured to overcome its difficulties in their course of study, he retired into the lonely mountains and gave himself to meditation, to investigate it so as to compose a useful compendium, that might overcome the difficulties of the work, its abstruse doctrines, and complicated sentences. At this time the spirit of the mountain carrying the Bodhisattva to a height of several hundred feet, then repeated (chanted) these words:—"In former days the Lord of the world virtuously controlled and led the people; prompted by his compassionate heart, he delivered the *Hetu Vidyā Śāstra*, and arranged in due order its exact reasonings and its extremely deep and refined words. But after the *Nirvāṇa* of Tathāgata its great principles became obscured; but now Jina Bodhisattva, whose merit and wisdom are too extensive, understanding to the bottom the sacred well, will cause the *Hetu Vidyā Śāstra* to spread abroad its power during the present day". Apparently the Bodhisattva was unnerved by the magnitude of the task; and he was about to give up the attempt when Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist God of Learning appeared before him and urged him to continue it for the good of humanity. Dinnāga receiving these directions, respectfully assented and "then having given himself to profound study, he developed the teaching of the *Hetu Vidyā Śāstra* (presumably the *Pramāṇa Samuccaya*-vide Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic* p. 274 n. 3.) exemplifying the great principle and explaining the subtle language in order to guide the learners". (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* II pp. 218-

1. The Sanskrit Text of Dinnāga's *Nyāyapravēṣa* has not yet been published. Only the Tibetan Text has been published in No. XXXIX, Part II of the G. O. S. [Ed.]



220). Pandit Vidhuśēkhara Baṭṭācārya tells us that the *Hetu Vidyā* is most probably identical with the *Nyāyapravēśa* (Vide III *Indian Historical Quarterly* p. 159). It is then clear from the passages above cited from Beal that the *Hetu Vidyā* (or *Nyāyapravēśa*) was in the days of Diñnāga already an ancient work—so ancient that its authorship was attributed to the Lord of the World himself, which is equivalent to saying that already in the days of Diñnāga the work had come to be regarded as a work of antiquity, which possessed great and unquestioned authority ; and Diñnāga, appreciating its high worth and merit, and finding it not easily understandable by the people, expounded its teachings by writing a simpler treatise on the same subject. If Diñnāga was really the author of the *Nyāyapravēśa* or *Hetu Vidyā*, it is strange that Hiuen-Tsang did not know it or had not even heard of it : the *Nyāyapravēśa* must, in order to justify the language of Hiuen-Tsang's account, have been anterior to the date of Diñnāga by at least one or two centuries. In any event, it could not have been Diñnāga's work. Naturally, surmises appear to have been made later about the authorship of the work ; and it is noteworthy that in China and Japan a tradition grew up that one Śāṅkara-svāmin was the author of the *Nyāyapravēśa* (Vide III *I, H. Q.* p. 158). It is not improbable that Bodhisattva Śāṅkara-svāmin is only a fictitious name. Neither Hiuen-Tsang nor I-tsing mentions the name of any such Bodhisattva ; and to me it is almost unthinkable that if there had been really a person of that name and he was besides the author of such a famous work as the *Nyāyapravēśa*, these two travellers would have ignored him altogether. Besides, the work, that according to the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, Śāṅkara-svāmin is said to have written, is called *Nyāyapravēśa Tarka Śāstra* which is No. 1216, in Nanjio's *Catalogue* and not No. 1224, which is the *Nyāyapravēśa* with which we are here concerned. (Vide Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic* P. 302 & n.) The Tibetans, who did not know any Śāṅkara-Svāmin at all, ascribed the authorship of the *Nyāyapravēśa* to Diñnāga, who had, probably by that time, come to be regarded as the foremost among the Buddhist writers on pure logic ; and they may have done so, as the result of a confusion of ideas, as among Diñnāga's recognised works, one is named *Pramāṇa Śāstra Nyāyapravēśa*, which Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa opines " was perhaps called simply *Nyāyapravēśa* (*History of Indian Logic* p. 300 n.), a wholly different work from the *Nyāyapravēśa* with which we are dealing. If, as I have attempted to show by reference to Hiuen-Tsang's *Travels*, Diñnāga's connection with the *Nyāyapravēśa* was only to prepare a hand book or compendium to popularise the teachings of that work which had already been in existence for some considerable time



past, then what is more probable or natural than to ascribe the authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to the greatest logician of the pre-Diñnāga period, Ārya Nāgārjuna, the father of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the founder of the Mādhyamika School? Accordingly we find that Bunju Nanjio says in his *Catalogue* that the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa* is Nāgārjuna (p. 270 Nos. 1223, 1224); and Dr. Takakusu also says so in his *Record of the Buddhist Religion* by I-tsing. (pp. 177, 186). Their view seems to me to be probable; at any rate, I am not prepared to reject it summarily. I may also state that the eight *śāstras* of Jina or Diñnāga which it is said should be studied to gain mastery in logic, can be made out without reckoning the *Nyāyapraveśa* as one of them. They are (1) *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, (2) *Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra*, (3) *Hētucahrahamaru*, (4) *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*, (5) *Pramāṇa-śāstra-Nyāyapravēśa*, (6) *Ālambana-parīkṣā*, (7) *Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti*, (8) *Trikālaparīkṣā*.

If Nāgārjuna be the author of the *Nyāyapravēśa*, then when did he live? Beal says that Nāgārjuna's time was about the first century B.C. (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World II* p. 215.) Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, however, says that it was about 250-320 A. C., but this date is obviously impossible, for it is well known that Sadvaharāja, that is a Sātavāhana king, was his patron, who built for him at almost fabulous cost the Brahmagiri *Saṅghārāma*, where the Bodhisattva spent a large part of his life in meditation. (Beal II pp. 214 ff.); and the Sātavāhana or Āndhra line of kings came to an end about 225 A. C. (Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* p. 212). Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, indeed, quotes the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūlatantra*, according to which Nāgārjuna lived 400 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, that is, says the learned Doctor, in 33 B. C., though according to Dr. Vincent Smith the *Nirvāṇa* occurred about 487 B. C. (*Early History* p. 47) and according to Dr. Fleet in 483 B. C. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa however, writes: 'But he does not appear to me to have had so early a date, as he was one of the early patrons or founders of the University of Nālanda, which had not, perhaps, come into existence in the first century B. C., and was insignificant even in 399 A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian came to visit India (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 252). Surely, this is very inconclusive reasoning. We do not know when Nālanda first became a seat of learning; but are we so certain that Nāgārjuna was connected with Nālanda at all? Hiuen-Tsang does not mention him among the Nālanda sages, though he gives a fairly long list, which he closes, no doubt, with the expression 'and other eminent men whose names are lost'. Can Nāgārjuna be possibly brought

into the non-descript and inconspicuous group of 'other eminent men whose names are lost'? The name that Nālanda acquired as a seat of learning was so great, that even those who had not attended the Nālanda University are said to have usurped the appellation of Nālanda Paṇḍita, that their learning might be respected wherever they went. (Beal's *Buddhist Records* II 170). Perhaps, in later years it became a fashion of thought among foreign Buddhists to associate the names of all their most distinguished sages with Nālanda, with which undoubtedly many of them were connected. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa relies on a statement found in Tārānātha's *Buddhism in India*, a work of the 17th century, for saying that Nāgārjuna was an early founder or patron of the Nālanda University : and it seems to me he has exaggerated its value. I do not see that there is any valid reason for rejecting the traditional date for Nāgārjuna which is preserved in the *Mañjuśrī Mūlatantra*, according to which Nāgārjuna flourished as already stated, in the '400 years after the *Nirvāṇa*' or the fourth century A. N. Buddha's death has been assigned to various dates. Dr. Vincent Smith prefers 487 B. C. and Prof. Geiger and Dr. Fleet, 483 B.C. We may take the event to have happened between 490 and 480 B.C. ; and the fourth century A. N. will be between 190 or 180 B.C. and 90 or 80 B. C. We learn from Hiuen-Tsang's *Travels* that the Sātavāhana king who was the patron of Nāgārjuna lived and ruled so long that his son almost despaired of being able to succeed him, and the king died in or about the same year as the sage. During the period we have indicated above, there was a Sātavāhana king Śātakarṇi, the sixth in the list of Āndhra kings, who ruled for the exceptionally long period of 56 years ; and according to Dr. Vincent Smith's chronology of the Āndhras, the reign of this king extended from 153 B.C. to 97 B.C. Nāgārjuna is said to have lived for 70 years ; and so his date may provisionally be taken to be c 167-97 B.C. On this basis, if Nāgārjuna was the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa* as probably he was, *Mañimēkalai* need not be assigned to a period posterior to even the second century A.C.

Suppose, however, Diñnāga was really the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa* ; then it falls to consider when Diñnāga lived. Professor A. Berriedale Keith says that Diñnāga remains of somewhat uncertain date (*J. R. A. S.* 1914, p. 1091). Prof. Kuppaswāmi Śāstri tells us that there is good evidence to believe that Diñnāga flourished in the earlier part of the fifth century ; and for that statement he relies on the foreword to the *Tattva-saṅgraha*, published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, and on Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, p. 270. I have not been able to see what information the

former of these references contains, and cannot, therefore, say whether it is a critical judgment that it supplies or only, to use Goethe's phrase, the 'opinion of the foreman'. It is, however, noteworthy that the foreword to the *Tattva-saṅgraha* places Diñnāga, as is seen from Mr. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri's footnote at p. 197 of *J. O. R.*, more than a century in advance of the period to which he is assigned by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa. I have looked into Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's work. At the page cited by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, the section on Diñnāga begins; and the section is headed, Diñnāga-c. 450, 520. There is nothing else about the date there. It is at p. 272 that the date of the great Buddhist logician is considered, as I think all too briefly and summarily. This is what we find there: "Diñnāga must have lived before 557-569 A.D. when two of his works were translated into Chinese. The early limit of his date is 480, when his teacher Vasubandhu lived. Diñnāga flourished possibly about 500 A.D." The edifice rests on loose, shifting sand. The date of Vasubandhu is a much discussed question. Watters, referring to a statement by Hiuen-Tsang explains it as denoting that Vasubandhu lived before the third century of the Christian era. Prof. Macdonell notices that some of Vasubandhu's works had been translated into Chinese by 404 A.C.; and it is reasonable to suppose that Vasubandhu must have lived some considerable time before that date. No doubt Dr. Takakusu would seek for Vasubandhu in the latter half of the 5th century, and Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa is obviously inclined to do likewise. If Kumārajīva translated Vasubandhu's works into Chinese in 404, Vasubandhu cannot possibly be assigned to 480 A.C. as Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa does. Besides after the investigations of M. Peri this date (480 A.C.) for Vasubandhu must be considered a good deal too late. Dr. Vincent Smith, who says it is impossible to resist the weight of M. Peri's arguments, comes to the conclusion that Vasubandhu was born about 280 A.C. and died about 360 A.C. (*Early History of India*, p. 328). Chinese testimony, we are told, affirms that Vasubandhu and his brother Asaṅga lived 'in the 900 years' after the *Nirvāṇa*, that is, according to the Chinese reckoning in or before the 2nd century of the Christian era. (Watters).

This is likewise the date we gather for Vasubandhu from his life written by Paramārtha who died in 569 A.C. From the materials available it seems to me that this date for Vasubandhu is as probable as any other date that has been assigned to him. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Diñnāga were contemporaries, and between them and Nāgārjuna there intervened in the succession of Buddhist teachers or divines only Āryadeva and Maitreya. Dr.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa allows a distance of 200 years between Nāgārjuna and Diñnāga ; and the former of these two Buddhist teachers died probably (as I have tried to show) in the first century B. C. There is, therefore, nothing violent in assigning Diñnāga to the second century A.C. On that basis too, *Maṇimēkalai* need not be posterior to the close of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century, even if Diñnāga be the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

Prof. Kuppaswāmi Śāstri has apparently satisfied himself that Aṛaṇa-vaṭikaḷ is no other than Ācārya-Dharma-pāla, a well-known Buddhist logician of the post-Diñnāga period ; because, forsooth, the expression *ētamil* (ஏதமில்) occurs in Aṛaṇa-vaṭikaḷ's enumeration of the sources of knowledge. The lines in *Maṇimēkalai* are

ஆதிசினேந்திரனளவை யிரண்டே

ஏதமில் பிரத்தியங் கருத்தளவென்ன.

Strangely, the learned Professor gives a twist to the order of words found in the text in interpreting the lines, and states that *ētamil* should be taken along with *aḷavai*. If that be done, he says it would be an improvement on the statement in Diñnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccya* ; and as the teaching contained in *Maṇimēkalai* differs in some material details from what is found in Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*, Aṛaṇa-vaṭikaḷ must have come between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti, and it would not be 'far-fetched or fanciful' to hold that the sage of *Maṇimēkalai* was Dharmapāla. This reasoning is hardly convincing. I do not see any reason for dislocating *ētamil* from the place it occupies, and for reading *ētamil aḷavai* instead of *ētamil pīrattiyam*. In poetic usage expressions like ஏதமில் are not infrequently employed as merely intensive words of emphasis. Thus we find in the *Tiruvācakam*

ஏதமிலா இன்சொல் மரகதமே. 19. 5.

ஏதில் பெரும்புகழ் எங்களீசன். 43. 31.

கோதிலா தீருங்கொடி. 19. 40.

கோதில் அமுதானுனை. 31. 20.

கோதில் பெருந்துறைக்கோன். 19. 25.

கேடில் பெருந்துறைக்கோன். 19. 17.

Surely, it is too ambitious a structure that the learned Professor has attempted to raise on this single expression which it seems to me is too frail to bear the burden. Now, so far as we can gather from the Tamil epic, Aṛaṇa-vaṭikaḷ was living at Kāvēriṇī-ūm-paṭṭiṇam, when *Maṇimēkalai* first sought him, as directed by Tīvatilakai ; and he was then already well advanced in age. He afterwards went to Vañci, the capital of the Cēra, and thence to

Kāñcī, where *Mañimēkalai* after several vicissitudes again sought him and received instruction from him in Buddhist philosophy and religion. He no doubt once went north on a pilgrimage to Gr̥dhrakūṭa; but he spent his life mainly at Kāvēripattinam and latterly he resided in Kāñcī. Buddhism had declined in the land in his days; and as *Mañimēkalai's* detention in prison might suggest, Buddhists were, possibly, if not actually persecuted, at least regarded with disfavour. Could this sage be Dharmapāla? Dharmapāla was born in Kāñcīpura, and with that his connection with Kāñcī ceases; for when he was a young man he left his native place for North India, which became the scene of his activities. He had acquired great learning; and even as a youth he effectively refuted the arguments of the Brāhmaṇas at a convocation held in Kusabhavanapura on the Gomatī river, and converted to Buddhism even the king of Kauśāmbi who had called the meeting, besides the Brāhmaṇas who had opposed him. He became head of the Nālanda University, a position which we find him occupying even in his old age. (Beal's *Buddhist Records* I 237 ff. II-110 f; 171; 229 f). Apparently Buddhism was almost aggressively in the ascendant in his days; and he had the satisfaction of seeing even his pupils, like Śīlabhadra for example, refuting and vanquishing the Brāhmaṇas and gaining royal adherence to the Buddhist faith. It is difficult to imagine that Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ and Dharmapāla, who differed so completely in all known incidents of their personal history and during whose days there was such marked dissimilarity in the fortunes of their religious faith, could have been one and the same person. If Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ must needs be equated with some well-known name in Sanskrit Buddhism, why could it not be with Diñnāga himself? So far as I can see, the only excuse offered against it is the occurrence of *ētamil*, a fanciful objection at the best. Diñnāga belonged to Kāñcīpura and unlike Dharmapāla spent a considerable part of his life in Āndhra-deśa. But, perhaps, *Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ* only means 'the Buddhist Guru'; or it may be taken to signify 'the sage of Aṛavaṇa', without denoting any specific individual bearing that name. It is said that Nāgārjuna met his patron, the Sātavāhana king, at Alamana or Aramana of which Aṛavaṇa may easily be a variant. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there was a Buddhist monastery there; and the Saṅgha of that particular community of monks will naturally be known as Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ. However it be, we know that in Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ's time Buddhism was at a low ebb. It is well known that during the first century B.C. and the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism was, as a result of Brahminical reaction and other

causes, on the wane; and therefore, it will not, it seems to me, be inappropriate if we place Aravaṇavaṭikaḷ, the Buddhist sage of the Tamil Epic, *Maṇimēkalai*, in the second century A.C.

Thus it appears that after all 'historical truth' need not fight shy of 'the current notions about the Śaṅgam age of Tamil Literature', which the learned Professor with needless sneer describes as 'mytho-poetic theories'—an expression for which he seems to have developed an exceptional affection, as may be judged by his use of it not only in his article here discussed, but also elsewhere.



## THE LAST DAYS OF ŚRĪ ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA.

By

N. K. VENKATESAN, M.A., L.T.

*Lecturer in English, Government College, Rajahmundry.*

### I

Regarding the last days and the closing incidents of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life, conflicting theories are in vogue. The theories may be briefly stated thus :—

(1) That Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the Grand Throne of Omniscience (Sarvajñapīṭha—सर्वज्ञपीठ) in Kāśmir, went to Badarī Nārāyaṇa and from there ascended to Kailāsa ;

(2) That he mounted the Grand Throne at Conjeevaram, that he then went to Badarī Nārāyaṇa and that he thence left for Kailāsa ; and

(3) That he mounted the Grand Throne at Conjeevaram and leaving the mutt, at the end of his life, in charge of his favourite disciple Śrī Sureśvarācārya gave up his gross body and took subtle form, remaining to this day, according to traditional belief, in the temple of Śrī Kāmākṣī at Conjeevaram.

The first of these theories is found in the Śaṅkaravijaya, ascribed to Mādhavācārya. It is popularly believed that this Mādhavācārya was the great sage and commentator Vidyāranyaśwāmi, otherwise known as Sāyaṇācārya. He had two brothers by name Mādhava and Bhoga-nātha. The style of this Śaṅkaravijaya differs so much from Vidyāranya's style and even from that of his brother Mādhava, that we have to dismiss the idea, that either of the brothers wrote this work. The first śloka in this book, the benedictory verse alone is taken from Vidyāranyaśwāmi's works, but immediately the style changes and becomes bombastic and even tough at places.

The style of this work, curiously enough, closely agrees with that of a work named ' *Bhāgavata Campū* ' written by an author whose name is as-

certained from enquiry to be Mādhava. The coincidence is all the more striking when we find that the author of the "Bhāgavata Campū" calls himself *Navakālīdāsa* (new Kālīdāsa) and the author of this Śaṅkaravijaya also refers to himself as 'Navakālīdāsa', and says that one who cannot appreciate his work, is like a Turk who kills a cow without appreciating its value. Such gross self-praise cannot be ascribed to a great philosopher and sage like Vidyāraṇya or even his brother Mādhava of Parāśara Mādhaviya.

Besides, the first twenty four ślokas in the twelfth sarga of this "Śaṅkaravijaya" are bodily taken from a work called "*Śaṅkarā-bhyudaya*" by Śrī Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita, a great poet attached to the court of the Nāyaka kings. These twenty-four ślokas are found in that work as ślokas 1, 2, 6 and 7 and 14 to 33 in the fourth sarga (*vide* the Sanskrit Journal सङ्ख्या—Vol. XVII. Nos. 10 and 11). Again a śloka in Ānandagiri's "Śaṅkaravijaya," (unpublished) the oldest work on the subject, written as it was by Ānandagiri or Toṭaka, one of the disciples of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, whom he calls his Paramaguru (परमगुरु) is found word for word in this work on Śaṅkaravijaya, save the last foot.

From these considerations it seems to be clear that the work "Śaṅkaravijaya" ascribed to Mādhavācārya is not an original or an ancient work, but more or less a compilation by a later aspirant to the grace of the poetic muse and it must be said that both the works "Śaṅkaravijaya" and "Bhārata Campū" are indeed very pleasing to read.

While this 'Śaṅkaravijaya' says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir, and, that he then left for Badarī Nārāyaṇa, sending his disciples to various mutts and that from there left for Kailāsa, the work 'Śaṅkaravijaya' by Cidvilāsendra says that the grand incident of Śrī Śaṅkara's life took place at Conjeevaram, but that he afterwards went to Badarī Nārāyaṇa after visiting several other places, and went up to Kailāsa from his Āśrama at Badarī Nārāyaṇa (chapters 25 and 31). It is indeed very curious that the very ślokas (91 and 92—16th Sarga) in the Śaṅkaravijaya ascribed to Mādhavācārya which place the incident of mounting of the Throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir, are the ślokas that refer to the incident as having taken place at Conjeevaram, in the Śaṅkarā-bhyudaya of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dikṣita (8th Sarga 68th and 69th ślokas. At the end of the eighth sarga, he says, that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya stayed at Conjeevaram to the end of his life, doing pūjā (worship) to Kāmeśvarī or Kāmakoṭī on the banks of the Kampā Saras.

कम्पातीरनिवासिनीमनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन्

ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत त्रिजगतां क्षेमङ्करः शङ्करः ॥

In saying that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir and in placing the last days of his life in Badarī Nārāyaṇa, it is quite probable that the account of the life of Ādi (the first) Śaṅkarācārya has been mixed up with that of another Śaṅkarācārya who was the 38th occupant of the Kāmakoṭī Pīṭha at Conjeevaram. This second Śaṅkarācārya was called "Dhīra Śaṅkarendra" (धीरशङ्करेन्द्रः) and from his history we learn that he made an all India tour like Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, mounted a Throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir, entered the Dattātreyā Guhā (the cave of Dattātreyā) in the Himalayas and disappeared (Page 27, "Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and the Kāmakoṭī Pīṭha" by the author of this article).

An ancient work called (Śaṅkarācārya Caritram) very popular in Malabar, published by Nīlakaṇṭha Nambī of Pattāmbi in Malayalam characters says, that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the Throne and attained Siddhi in Vṛṣācalam. In some manuscripts the place is spoken of as Gajācalam.

The seat of Śrī Varadarāja Svāmi called, Hasti-Giri-Vṛṣācalam, must be another name for Hasti-Giri or Gajācalam. It seems to be certain that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the Throne of Omniscience and spent his last days there. Both in the commentary on the "Gururātna Mālīkā" of Sadāśiva Brahmendra and in the Guruparamparā stotra found among manuscripts, we find Conjeevaram mentioned as the final seat of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's labours and as the place where he left his physical body (A rare manuscript—2146 L. Hultzsch-Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts No. 3).

तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमे पदम् ।

विश्वरूपयतिं स्थाप्य स्वाश्रमस्य प्रचारणे ॥

[Viśvarūpa—is the other name by which Sureśvarācārya is known].

## II

We glean from all the works on Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life that he did a great deal of town-planning and town-founding work at Conjeevaram. The commentator on the "Śaṅkaravijaya" ascribed to Mādhavācārya, says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya founded Śiva-Kāñci with God Ekāmreśvara and Viṣṇu-Kāñci with Varadarājasvāmi, had temples built, agrahārams

opened and Brahmins established therein, that he did much pioneering work of this sort with the help of the King Rājasena, but he says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya stayed there only one month, तस्मिन् काञ्चीनगरे मासमात्रं स्थित्वा ।

This seems to be really too short a time for so much work and moreover there is no reason why Śrī Śaṅkara should have taken so much trouble about this particular place, if he had already established his great mutt at Śrīngeri, according to Cidvilāśendra, who devotes more than three chapters to the stay and work of Śaṅkarācārya at Śrīngeri. He should have had certainly more permanent interest in the place for him, to have founded a town in a manner suited to his own taste.

It is well-known that Śaṅkarācārya established the Śrī Cakra—(or the Yantra of Śrī and Śakti) at Conjeevaram. Not only did he establish the Śrī Cakra at Conjeevaram, but he also planned the whole town in the form of Śrī Cakra and placed the image of Śrī Kāmākṣī in the *Bindusthāna* (the central part of the Cakra.) All the temples in the town, instead of facing the east or the west, as is usual in all places, face the seat of Śrī Kāmākṣī and all the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva in the place take their festive rounds around the temple of Śrī Kāmākṣī. All these facts go to show undoubtedly that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya must have mounted the Grand Throne Omniscience at Conjeevaram, and that, as he had already finished all his preaching work, he considered it the best place for his final stay. It is only in Conjeevaram that there is so ancient Mūlavigraha of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and also a Utsava Vighraha. This is also a significant fact to support the above conclusion. It is known also that he left his favourite disciple Sureśvarācārya in his seat, when he decided to stop his work and this event is permanently testified to in the existence of an agrahāram called Maṇḍana Miśra Agrahāra, Maṇḍana Miśra being the name of Sureśvarācārya before he became a disciple of the Guru.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we are perforce led to agree with the author of the “Śaṅkarābhyudaya” and conclude that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya finally stayed at Conjeevaram after mounting the Throne of Omniscience there. We could well believe his statement that he spent the last days of his life in doing pūjā to Kāmēśvari on the banks of Kampā-Saras.

This conclusion is supported by the statement of Ānandagiri (or Toṭaka) the direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, that Śrī Śaṅkara left his

1. This is based on the tradition recorded in the Mādhaviya Śaṅkaravijaya ; but it is definitely wrong as has been shown elsewhere. [Ed.]

gross body and took the subtle form at Conjeevaram. He further says that Śaṅkarācārya brought five *sphaṭika liṅgas* (स्फटिकलिङ्गानि) from Kailāsa, that he established four of them at Badarī Nārāyaṇa in Nīlakaṇṭha Kṣetra in Nepal, in Śṛṅgerī, and in Cidambaram, and that he took with himself his favourite and most powerful liṅga, the Yogaliṅga (योगलिङ्ग), that he was worshipping it at Conjeevaram and that when the time came for his leaving the physical world, he gave it to Sureśvarācārya, whom he left in charge of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha (कामकोटिपीठम्) of Conjeevaram and of the mutt, known as the Śārada mutt (not to be confounded with the Śārada Pīṭha of Śṛṅgerī). All these facts are in keeping with the traditional story handed down from generation to generation among the people in Southern India.

The ancient Purāṇa known as *Śiva Rahasya*, says in the 9th Aṁśa, 16th Chapter, that the *yoga liṅga* was placed in Śrī Śaṅkara's own āśrama in Conjeevaram, where he had his final liberation from the physical world.

तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनाप्राप्तजयस्वकाश्रमे ।

तावै विजित्य तरसाक्षतशास्त्रवादैर्मिश्रान् स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप ॥

We may compare with this the śloka in *Mārkaṇḍeya Saṁhitā*, referring to the close of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life at Conjeevaram (Kāṇḍa 72, Parispanda 7)

काञ्च्यांश्रीकामकोटिं कलिमलशमनीं कल्पयित्वा सुरेशे

श्रीविद्याराजपीठार्चनमहितमहाराज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीम् ।

संवेद्यात्मीयशिष्ये सकलभुवनसंमोदहेतोर्महात्मा

चिद्रूपस्वानुभूतिं भजति भवमहाम्भोधिसन्ताराणाय ॥

काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटौ तु योगलिङ्गमनुत्तमम् ।

प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुरेशार्यं पूजार्थं युयुजे गुरुः ॥

Again, Śrī Harṣa in his "Naiṣadha" referring to the kings that were present at the Svayamvara of Damayantī in the 12th Sarga, speaks of the King of Conjeevaram, as the king that hailed from the city where Yogeśvara was worshipped in Sphaṭika Liṅga. (स्फटिकभूर्जगतिं योगेश्वरः) In some editions the word is printed as Yāgeśvara (यागेश्वरः). The word Yāgeśvara bears no meaning in the context.

Again in his Patañjali Caritra, Śrī Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita also, a poet attached to the Nāyak kings, says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya stayed in his last days at Conjeevaram and obtained *Mukti with his body*, (i.e.) that he disappeared, assuming a subtle form, as has been said before.

गोविन्ददेशिकमुपास्य चिराय भक्त्या तस्मिन् स्थिते निजमहिम्नि विदेहमुक्त्या।

अद्वैतमाल्यमुपकल्प्य दिशो विजित्य काञ्चीपुरे स्थितिमवाप स शङ्करार्यः ॥

(8th Sarga śloka 71.)

From such varied and reliable evidence, it seems to be clear that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the throne of Omniscience at Conjeevaram, that he spent the last days of his life at Conjeevaram, left the Śārada mutt, Kamakoṭi Pīṭha and Yogeśvara Sphaṭika Līṅga in the charge of his first, and foremost and favourite disciple Śrī Sureśvarācārya—the spiritual lineal descendant of the Sarvajña Pīṭha hailing to this day, and disappeared from human view, at the age of thirty two, having triumphantly established his advaitic doctrines over the whole of India, the glorious land of Gods and Rṣis

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS.

- (1) Śivarahasya Purāṇa .. Ascended the Pīṭha at Kāñcī and stayed there till the end.
- (2) Śaṅkarābhyudaya .. Ascended the Pīṭha at Kāñcī and stayed to the last.
- (3) Ānandagiri Śaṅkara-vijaya .. Established the Kāmakoti Pīṭha at Kāñcī, founded a supreme mutt there and stayed in it till the end.
- (4) Mārkaṇḍeya Saṁhitā .. Established the Pīṭha and mutt at Kāñcī.
- (5) Gururatna Mālīkā .. Ascended the Pīṭha at Kāñcī, established his supreme mutt and stayed to the last.
- (6) Guruparamparā Stotra (a rare Manuscript recorded by Hultsch) .. Established his āśrama or mutt at Kāñcī with Sureśvara as successor and stayed there to the last.
- (7) Śaṅkarācārya Caritram in Malayālam characters Ascended the Sarvajña Pīṭha at Kāñcī and stayed till the last moment at Vṛṣācala.
- (8) Patañjali Carita .. Stayed at Kāñcī to the end.
- (9) Cidvilāsiya .. Founded the Sarvajña Pīṭha at Kāñcī and thence went to Kailāsa.
- (10) Mādhavīya Śaṅkara-vijaya .. Ascended the Sarvajña Pīṭha at Kāśmir and thence to Kailāsa.



## THE CONTEMPORARIES OF PERIYĀLVĀR.

BY

K. G. SANKAR, B.A., B.L.

*Assistant Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta.*

Mr. M. Rāghava Aiyangār has recently (*ante*, v. 1, pp. 157-166) tried to prove, after a detailed inquiry, that the *Tiruppāvai* was composed in 731 A. C. As, in the same issue (pp. 167-169), I have arrived at 850 A.C. as the date of the same work, I gladly accept his invitation to criticise his views, and hope that my arguments will meet with greater consideration than he was pleased to accord to my paper on *The Date of Maṇḍalapuruṣa* (*Jour. Myth. Soc.*—v. 24, pp. 120, 121), which he dismissed in a foot-note as superficial and ill-informed, without attempting to meet any of my arguments in support of the accepted view against the new theory he was propounding.

On the chronological value of the astronomical date found in the *Tiruppāvai* and on the inferences to be drawn therefrom, we differ little, except that my list of possible dates is more exhaustive and accurate. His list, for instance, omits, among others, my date of 850 A. C. and includes 885 and 886 A.C., which I have shown to be unsuitable. But he relies mainly on the historical reasons for placing Periyālvār and his daughter in the 8th century A. C.; and, as his date 731 A.C. is also one of my possible dates, my criticism will be confined to discussing the validity of his historical reasons.

It is a pity that Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's paper is written in a diffuse style, and that he has not given his own summary of his arguments. I hope that the following analysis of his arguments will be found fairly exhaustive and accurate, and I shall take that as the basis of my criticisms, point by point.

### *Summary analysis of Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's arguments.*

(1) Periyālvār refers to the Pāṇḍya Neḍumāraṇ as his contemporary. This Neḍumāraṇ must be identified with Māravarman III of the Vēlṭikūḍi

plates, as both his *mantri* Māraṇ-Kāri and son Jaṭila Parāntaka were Vaiṣṇavas, while his predecessors were all Śaivas; and his conversion must be due to the influence of a great *guru* like Periyālvār.

(2) Parāntaka had the title Śrīvallabha, by which the king, who honoured Periyālvār, is referred to in the *Guruparamparās*; and this honouring of his *guru* is referred to in the Madras Museum plates, in connection with Parāntaka.

(3) Periyālvār refers to the Viṣṇu temple, built by Parāntaka at Pēiūr in the Koṅgu country.

(4) In the 7th century A.C., religious conflicts were between the vaidiks and the heretics, while the conflicts between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas happened in the 8th century A.C.; and Periyālvār flourished in the latter period.

(5) Periyālvār is known to have been the contemporary of the Ālvārs—Nammālvār, Kulaśēkhara, Tondaraḍippoḍi and Tirumaṅgai—all of whom are known to have lived in the 8th century A.C.

(6) All the Ālvārs must have passed away long before Nādamuni (born 825 A.C.), the earliest of the Ācāryas.

I. *The identity of Periyālvār's contemporaries—Neḍumāraṇ and Śrīvallabha.*

It is well known that Periyālvār refers to a Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ (*Periyālvār Tirumōḷi* 4.2.7) as his contemporary. But between c. 600 and c. 903 A.C., the probable limits of Periyālvār's age, there were five Pāṇḍyas named Māravarman, for *neḍu* is only an epithet meaning 'great'; and the difficulty can be overcome only by relating this fact to another, that the traditional biographies (*Guruparamparās*) mention the honour paid to Periyālvār as *guru* by a Pāṇḍya Śrīvallabha. In early Pāṇḍya inscriptions, we hear of only one Śrīvallabha, the son of Varaguṇa I (Bigger Cinnamanūr plates—edited in *Sen Tamil*, v. 23, pp. 219-224; 257-262). He is also called Śrī Māra. Śrī Māra must therefore be the Śrīvallabha of the *Guruparamparās*, and the Neḍumāraṇ of Periyālvār; and Periyālvār must have lived in the 9th, not the 8th, century A.C.

But Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār objects that we do not know that Śrī Māra was a Vaiṣṇava. True; but neither do we know that he was not a Vaiṣṇava, while Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār himself admits that Māravarman II, with whom he identifies the Neḍumāraṇ of Periyālvār, was, on the other hand, an open Śaiva. The Vēlvikuḍi plates, indeed, distinctly say that Māravarman II was a devotee of Paśupati; and there is nothing whatever

to show that he was ever anything else, while Periyālvār's Neḍumāraṇ was a true Vaiṣṇava (*Periyālvār-Tirumoli* 4.2.7). It cannot be contended that this Māravarman became a Vaiṣṇava in his later life, and that his son Jaṭila was a Vaiṣṇava from his birth. For, in his 3rd year, the latter was a Śaiva, as his Vēlvikuḍi plates invoke Śiva alone (my ed. in *Jour. Myth. Soc.* v. 13, pp. 453-458), and he himself became a Vaiṣṇava before his 17th year, as his Madras Museum plates clearly indicate by the words *parama-Vaiṣṇavan tān āki* (*Ind. Ant.* v. 22, pp. 69-72). Periyālvār's Neḍumāraṇ therefore cannot be identified with Jaṭila Parāntaka's father. As to the identity of Śrīvallabha, it is no doubt not one of the numerous titles of Jaṭila Parāntaka given in his Madras Museum and Vēlvikuḍi plates, and neither Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅār, nor his authority Mr. Gopinātha Rao, have been able to adduce any evidence for the identity of Śrīvallabha with Jaṭila Parāntaka. But I have myself come across a fact, which seems to support Parāntaka's claim to the title Śrīvallabha. Jinasēna says that he completed his *Harivaṃśa* in Śaka 705=783 A.C., when, among others, Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṇa, was ruling the north, and Śrīvallabha the south. Vallabha was the common title of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but as Śrīvallabha is distinguished from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrāyudha, it seems that he was the ruler of the country further south; and, as no Pallava seems to have held the title; he was probably a Pāṇḍya. In 783 A.C. the Pāṇḍya king was Jaṭila Parāntaka, who, in his Madras Museum plates, claims victories over the Pallavas, and so he might, after all, have held the title Śrīvallabha also. But Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅār's own date for the *Tiruppāvai* precludes the possibility of his having been identical with the Śrīvallabha of Periyālvār. For, according to him, the *Tiruppāvai* was composed in 731 A.C., not long before Śrī Kōḍai was absorbed into the image of Śrī Rāṅganātha, while yet she was in her early youth; and the *Guruparamparās* inform us that, at the time of this last event, Śrīvallabha had already found his *guru* in Periyālvār. If so, Śrīvallabha must have been ruling in c. 731 A.C., while Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅār himself admits that Jaṭila Parāntaka's rule began only in 767 A.C. This date for Parāntaka's accession was first proposed by me in 1920 (*Jour. Myth. Soc.* v. 10, p. 184). But now I should place the event between 767 and 770 A.C. For, Māraṇ Kāri, the *ājñāpti* of the Vēlvikuḍi plates dated in Jaṭila Parāntaka's 3rd year, died before they were engraved, as indicated by the word *āsit*, but was alive and built the Ānaimalai temple in 770 A.C. (*Epi. Ind.* v. 8, No. 33), when Parāntaka was the ruling king. 770 A.C. therefore fell between the 1st and 3rd years of Parāntaka, thus placing his accession between 767 and 770 A.C. In this view, also, the

ruling king in 731 A.C. was Māravarman and not Parāntaka. Periyālvār's Śrīvallabha therefore cannot be identical with Parāntaka.

Another argument, adduced by Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār for proving the identity of Periyālvār's Śrīvallabha with Parāntaka, is that Śrīvallabha is said to have honoured Periyālvār, while the Madras Museum plates apply the words *guru-caritam koṇḍāḍi* to Parāntaka. But the context clearly shows that Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār has misunderstood the meaning intended. For the passage reads as follows :—*Manu-darśita mārḡattināl guru-caritam koṇḍāḍi kaṇṭaka-śōdhanai tān śeydu kaḍanjñālam muḷudaiḷikkum... Parāntakan*. It means that Parāntaka followed in the footsteps of his ancestors, by holding fast to the path prescribed of old by Manu, and removing the thorns of State (evil-doers). This is the meaning understood by Mr. Veṅkayya, who published the Madras Museum plates in 1893. Manu's path is well known and is referred to in ancient works like the *Raghuvamśa* (I-17); and *guru-caritam koṇḍāḍi* is obviously a Tamil translation of *guru-caritam anusṛtya*. It seems strange that, in spite of these well-known facts, Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār should seek to derive a chronological significance in these words, with regard to the age of Periyālvār.

## II. *Periyālvār's reference to Parāntaka's Viṣṇu temple at Pērūr.*

Periyālvār refers to Viṣṇu as residing, among other places, in the Koṅgu country (2.6.2), and, in this reference, Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār finds an allusion to the Viṣṇu temple which, according to the Madras Museum plates, (not, as Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār says, the Veḷvikūḍi plates), Parāntaka is said to have built at Pērūr on the river Kānū (Noyyal). Such an allusion is of course possible, but by no means necessary, as the Pērūr temple was not the only Viṣṇu temple in the Koṅgu country. Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār is himself aware of the Viṣṇu temple at Karuvūr, which he would identify with the Āḍakamāḍa of the *Śilappadikāram* and date back so early as the Śāṅgam age; and to argue that it was not glorified by Ālvārs would be begging the question, in view of the possibility that it was the temple referred to by Periyālvār, and of the fact that the Pērūr temple too has not been hymned by the other Ālvārs. Granting, however, that Periyālvār had the Pērūr temple alone in mind, it does not follow that Periyālvār should have lived only in the 8th century A.C., and not at any other period after the temple was built by Parāntaka in c. 785 A. C.

III. *Periyālvār's religious conflicts.*

Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār argues that in the 7th century A.C. there were bitter religious conflicts between the followers of the vaidik faith and heretics like Buddhists and Jains, that this period was followed by a period of contention between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas for the adherence of the masses to their respective faiths, and that, as Periyālvār evidently belonged to the latter period, he must be assigned to the 8th century A.C. This argument involves a double misunderstanding of both the religious history of South India, and Periyālvār's mission in life. The two periods referred to were in fact parallel and not successive. The religious conflicts were quadrangular and not bilateral. Jains and Buddhists, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas were, from the 6th to the 9th century A.C., contending side by side for popular hold. The *Maṇimēkalai* (6th century A.C.) contains in canto 29 a vivid illustration of this fact. No argument can be based on the relative chronology of the protagonists in these conflicts, as that chronology has not yet been settled beyond reasonable doubt. It is still uncertain whether Māṇikya-vācaka preceded or succeeded the Tēvāram hymnists, and, if the 9th-century-date be accepted for this "hammer of the Buddhists", Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār's view as to the relative chronology of religious conflicts must be given up. There is thus no justification for placing Periyālvār definitely in the 8th century A.C., even if he is found to have taken part in these conflicts. But, in fact, he had no share in them at all. He spent his whole life in humble service of God in his own village, and he was diverted from this quiet life only on two occasions. One was in connection with his daughter's marvellous marriage. The other was when he went, by God's command, to Śrī-Vallabha's court and, after enlightening the king and his court, was treated by him with great honour. Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār evidently refers to this latter occasion. But it had no connection with religious conflicts. Periyālvār was, on the other hand, addressing those who were already Vaiṣṇavas; and he himself refers to the *rājaguru* Abhimānātūṅga Śelvanambi as an old servant of Viṣṇu, like himself (*Tirupṭallāṇḍu* 11). This incident therefore in the life of Periyālvār cannot help us to fix his date in the 8th century A. C.

IV. *Ālvārs, contemporary with Periyālvār.*

Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār argues that Periyālvār can be proved to have been a contemporary of the Ālvārs, Nammālvār, Kulaśēkhara, Tondaradip-pōḍi, and Tirumaṅgai, and that, as all of them lived in the 8th century A.C.,

Periyālvār also should be assigned to the same century. In proof of the former statement, he urges (i) that the *Divyasūricarita* of Garuḍavāhana, a contemporary and disciple of Śrī Rāmānujācārya (c. 1150 A.C.), introduces all these Ālvārs in connection with Śrī Kōḍai's marriage, (ii) that Periyālvār's Māṇavarman was, according to the Cinnamanūr plates, the foe of Pallavamalla, of whom Tirumaṅgai was lavish in praise, and (iii) that all these Ālvārs refer in glowing terms to the countless devotees of Viṣṇu spreading their faith their synchronism, as the Vaiṣṇava faith might have flourished in the Tamil country for several centuries, and in fact it did. As for the 2nd argument, I believe I have adduced above sufficient reasons for discrediting the synchronism of Periyālvār with the Māṇavarman of the 8th century A. C.; and the synchronism of Māṇavarman III with Pallavamalla occurs, not in the Cinnamanūr, but the Vēlvikuḍi plates. The synchronism mentioned in the Cinnamanūr plates is quite different. They say that Parāṅkuśa defeated the Pallavas at Śāṅkaramaṅgai. But Mr. Veṅkayya, whom Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār and others, all except the late Mr. Gopinātha Rao, blindly follow, wrongly identified this Parāṅkuśa with Māṇavarman III, with the result that two Arikēsari, Parāṅkuśas, three Rājasimhas and two Nelvēli battles sprang out of nowhere, and that an utter mess was made of early Pāṇḍya genealogy and chronology, which unfortunately has survived to this day. I shall here attempt briefly to clear this confusion and establish the correct view of early Pāṇḍya genealogy, after first dealing with the argument based on the *Divyasūricaritam*. This argument alone deserves consideration, as the work gives the earliest available account of the Ālvārs; and, if it is confirmed by the internal evidence of *Nālāyiram*, we may accept the general synchronism of the Ālvārs, Periyālvār and his daughter, Nammālvār and his disciple Madhurakavi, Kulaśēkhara, Tondaraḍippoḍi and Tirumaṅgai. Another detail given in the biographical accounts tends to confirm part of this synchronism. For Tirumaṅgai is said to have met Tondaraḍippoḍi, and, out of respect for him, to have made a *detour* in the walls he built around the Śrīraṅgam temple, to avoid cutting up his *tulasī* garden.

#### V. Early Pāṇḍya Genealogy and Chronology.

I shall now take up the vexed question of early Pāṇḍya genealogy and chronology, as, like King Charles' head, it tends to turn up everywhere during the course of the present discussion. The Vēlvikuḍi plates mention a Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Asamasaman Māṇavarman as the successor of Śēndan (=Jayanta), as the hero of Pāli, Nelvēli and Śennilam, and as the father of



the hero of Marudūr. The smaller Cinnamanūr plates likewise mention an Arikēsari Asamasaman Māṇavarman as the successor of Jayantavarman, as the hero of Nelvēli and as the father of the hero of Marudūr. The identity of these two heroes of Nelvēli is therefore quite clear. The *Kaḷaviyalurai* refers to a Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Neḍumāraṇ as the hero of Pāḷi, Nelvēli, Śennilam and Śaṅkamaṅgai. The battles of Pāḷi, Nelvēli and Śennilam identify this Arikēsari with the Arikēsari of the Vēlvikuḍi and smaller Cinnamanūr plates. The bigger Cinnamanūr plates mention a Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa as the hero of Nelvēli and Śaṅkamaṅgai. The titles Arikēsari and Parāṅkuśa, and the battle of Nelvēli are common to the hero of the *Kaḷaviyalurai* and the Parāṅkuśa of the bigger Cinnamanūr plates; and the battles of Śaṅkamaṅgai and Śaṅkaramaṅgai are evidently identical. So the identity of the Parāṅkuśa of the bigger Cinnamanūr plates with the hero of the *Kaḷaviyalurai* may be safely inferred. This identity is confirmed by the fact that Rājasimha is said to be Arikēsari's grandson in both the Vēlvikuḍi and bigger Cinnamanūr plates. We therefore collate the Vēlvikuḍi with the bigger Cinnamanūr plates and conclude that the early Pāṇḍya succession was as follows:—

- (1) Kaḍuṅkōṇ ; his son
- (2) Māṇavarman Avani-cūḍāmaṇi ; his son
- (3) Śēndan=Jayantavarman ; his *descendant*
- (4) Māṇavarman Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Asamasaman, hero of Nelvēli, Śaṅkaramaṅgai, Pāḷi and śennilam ; his son
- (5) Jaṭila=Śaḍaiyan Rāṇadhīraṇ, hero of Marudūr ; his son
- (6) Māṇavarman Rājasimha, foe of Pallavamalla ; his son
- (7) Jaṭila=Neḍuñcaḍaiyan Parāntaka ; accession between 767 and 770 A.C. ; his brother
- (8) Varaguṇa=Māṇaṇcaḍaiyan ; his son
- (9) Śrī Māraṇ Śrīvallaḅha ; his son
- (10) Varaguṇa II ; accession 862 A.C. ; his brother
- (11) Parāntaka Śaḍaiyan Vīraṇārāyaṇa ; his son
- (12) Māṇavarman Rājasimha II, defeated by Cōḷa Parāntaka I (907-953 A.C.) before 921 A.C. (*South Ind. Ins.* v. 2, p. 387).

#### VI. The date of Nammālvār.

Accepting the synchronism of the Ālvārs mentioned above, it does not follow that Periyālvār should have lived in the 8th century A.C. Nammālvār-

vār, for instance, must be later than c. 785 A.C., as he has devoted a decade to the temple of Śrīvaramaṅgalam, a village so named after one of his own titles and granted to Sujjāta Bhaṭṭa by Jaṭila Parāntaka in his 17th year, as recorded in his Madras Museum plates (*Tiruvāymoḻi* 5-7). But Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār argues from his names Kāri-Māraṇ and Parāṅkuśa that he was the son of Māraṇ-Kāri and took the name Parāṅkuśa in honour of his liege-lord Māravarman Parāṅkuśa, father of Jaṭila Parāntaka. But, as we have seen already, the identification of Parāṅkuśa with Parāntaka's father is a mistake, and Parāṅkuśa lived at least 3 generations before Nammālvār and therefore could not have been the latter's liege-lord, even if a saint from his birth could be said to have an earthly liege-lord. As for the argument from the name Kāri-Māraṇ, it may be pointed out that Kāri-Māraṇ was a Vēlāḷa of Karukūr, while Māraṇ-Kāri was a Vaidya of Kaḷakkuḍi, and that Māraṇ-Kāri's father was Māraṇ, while Kāri-Māraṇ's father's father was Poṟkāri. If, moreover, Nammālvār had been the son of Māraṇ-Kāri, it would be certainly strange that he should omit to honour his supposed father's Ānaimalai temple with his hymn, when he has so honoured the Mōhūr temple close to it (*Tiruvāymoḻi* 10.1). We can therefore safely conclude that Nammālvār must be later than c. 785 A.C. But he must have lived before 883 A.C., when the title Śaṭhakōpa, conferred on him for the first time for a specific reason, came to be used as the personal name of an ordinary person in an inscription at Tirukkannapuram in the Tanjore district. If, moreover, the earliest extant accounts of the *Divyasūricaritam* and the *Guruparamparai* of Pinbaḷakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar (13th century A.C.) can be relied upon for their astrological details, as well as for their historical statements, we can fix Nammālvār's date more closely still. For, while they give only the natal months and *nakṣatras* for the other Ālvārs and the cyclic year Nala also for Tirumaṅgai, they give full astrological data for Nammālvār's birth alone. According to them, Nammālvār was born on the 43rd day of Kali, cyclic year, Bahudhānya, month Vaikāśi, full-moon day of Viśākha *nakṣatra*, Friday, Karkaṭaka *lagna*. We may safely ignore the 43rd day of Kali of pious antiquity, and, accepting the other data, arrive with Mr. L. D. Swāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, at 4th May 798 A.C., as the only date satisfying all the given data between 500 and 1000 A.C. This date falls within the limited period we have already arrived at for Nammālvār, 785 to 883 A.C.; and enables us to infer that Varaguṇamaṅgai, which he has sung, must, on the analogy of Śrīvaramaṅgalam have been founded by Varaguṇa I. Nammālvār's date therefore does not enable us to place Periyālvār in the 8th century A.C.

VII. *The date of Kulaśēkharālvār.*

The traditional accounts of Kulaśēkharālvār say that, after visiting the birth place of Nammālvār, he spent his last days near it at Brahmādēsam. He should therefore have certainly lived long after 798 A.C. Again he calls himself the Lord of Kolli, the chief of Kūḍal, and the king of Kōḷi and Koṅgu (*Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi* 2-10; 3-9). This definite statement cannot be a mere boast, as he was incapable of self-conceit and untruth. He was therefore the sole sovereign of the entire Tamil country, though by birth he was only a Cēra King. After 880 A.C., the Cōḷas were so powerful as to preclude a Cēra King lording it over them, till the time of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara (c. 1300 A.C.). On the contrary, tracts of the Cēra country were most of the time subject to the Cōḷas or Pāṇḍyas. Kulaśēkhara must therefore have lived before 880 A.C. Between 857 and 880 A.C., the rulers of Vēṇaḍ (South Travancore) were Aḍakkan Śrīvallabha and his son Vikramāditya Varaguṇa (*Trav. Arch. Ser. v. 1*, pp. 5, 187-195). Their very tiles suggest that they admitted the supremacy, not of the Cēras, but of the Pāṇḍyas Śrīvallabha and Varaguṇa II; and since the former Pāṇḍya died in 862 A.C. (*Ann. Rep. Epi-Madras* No. 705 of 1905), Kulaśēkhara could not have lived after 862 A.C. His period thus falls between 798 and 862 A.C. The Pāṇḍyas of this period, Varaguṇa I and Śrīvallabha were both powerful kings, and could not have admitted Kulaśēkhara's supremacy. His claim to the chieftainship of Kūḍal (Madura) has therefore to be explained in some other way. I suggest, following the Malabar tradition, that his family was of Pāṇḍya origin. Kulaśēkhara thus lived more probably in the 9th than in the 8th century A.C., and his contemporary Periyālvār should be likewise assigned to the same period.

VIII. *The date of Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Ālvār.*

We have already referred to the tradition connecting Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Ālvār with Tirumāngai Ālvār. The other data relating to him, which are of any chronological value, are few. One is that the title Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, which he assumed in his humility, is found used as a common name in 943 A.C. (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* No. 107 of 1907). This fact implies for him a date not later than the 9th century A.C. The other is that tradition, as recorded in the *Guruparāmparai*, places him in the time of a king called Dharmavarman Cōḷa. This name is not found in the complete list of later Cōḷas, beginning with Vijayālaya. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi must therefore have lived before 880 A.C., when Āditya succeeded Vijayālaya. Neither is Dharmavarman one of the Cōḷas of the Śāṅgam age. At the close of the

Śaṅgam age, the Cōla power had dwindled so much, that from c. 600 to 850 A.C., their country was part of the Pallava kingdom, and in c. 640 A.C. Hiuen-Tsang found the Cōlas themselves petty chiefs of the Cuddappah district, far from their own country. Hiuen-Tsang's statement is borne out by the discovery, in this region, of the inscriptions of a local Cōla dynasty, whose members claimed descent from Karikāla Cōla of the Śaṅgam age, but themselves, judging from their names Nandivarman, Sihmaviṣṇu, Mahēndravarman and Vikramāditya (*Epi. Ind.* v. II, p. 345), seem to have been feudatories in turn of the Pallavas and Cālukyas, who are known to have ruled in this same region. One of these feudatory Cōlas, Śrikanṭha (R. Sewell, *List of Antiquities* No. 174), is mentioned, after the Cōlas of the Śaṅgam age, among Vijayālaya's ancestors; and even in c. 840 A.C., the Cōla Kumārāṅkuśa continued to be a feudatory of Pallava Nandivarman III in the North Arcot district (*South Ind. Inscr.* v. II, No. 98). The Cōlas could have therefore recovered their independence only between 840 and 880 A.C.; and Dharmavarman of Uṛaiyūr and his contemporary Tonḍaraḍippoḍi must both be placed in this period. Their contemporary Periyālvār must likewise be placed in the 9th century A. C.

IX. *The date of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār.*

The last of Periyālvār's contemporaries, whose date remains to be determined, is Tirumaṅgai. Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has argued that he was a contemporary of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. This argument is based on Tirumaṅgai Ālvār's hymn on the Paramēśwara-Viṣṇugṛha of Kāñci (*Periya-Tirumoḷi* 2-9). The hymn refers to Pallavamalla's battles of Maṇṇai, Karuvūr (with the Pāṇḍya), and Nenmeli, and his war-drum *Kaṭuvāy* (= *Kaṭumukha*). We hear of the title Pallavamalla, the battles Maṇṇaikkudi and Nelvēli (an obvious variant of Nenmeli and Nemmeli-Tanjore District), and the war-drum *Kaṭumukha* in connection with Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman (*South Ind. Inscr.* v. 2, Nos. 73 and 74; *Epi. Ind.* v. 9, No. 28). There is therefore little doubt as to the identity of the Pallava referred to by Tirumaṅgai; and Tirumaṅgai himself elsewhere directly names a king Nandi (*Periya-Tirumoḷi* 5-10-7). But, except that he sings here the praise of Pallavamalla, even as he sings elsewhere the praise of Cōlan Śeṅkaṇān (*ibid.* 6-6), there is nothing to show that Tirumaṅgai was a contemporary of Nandivarman. On the other hand, the use of the words *munanāl*, *paṇḍorukāl*, and *tolpuhaḷ* indicates that Tirumaṅgai came long after Pallavamalla. *Paṇḍu* by itself, no doubt, need not

imply a great antiquity (*Nannūl* with Mayilainātha's comm. p. 260); but, taken with the other words noted above, it precludes the synchronism of Tirumaṅgai with Pallavamalla (c. 715-780 A.C.). Tirumaṅgai therefore could not have belonged to the 8th century A.C.

I shall now attempt to fix his date more closely still. Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has pointed out that Tirumaṅgai himself asserts that in his time the Pāṇḍya, Cēra, Cōḷa and the "King of Kings" (evidently the Pallava) were all Vaiṣṇavas (*Periya-Tirumōḷi* 7-7-4). This statement is quite definite and yields us valuable results. It implies that in Tirumaṅgai's time, the Cōḷas were ruling in their own country, but still recognised the suzerainty of the Pallava "King of Kings". We have seen already that the Cōḷas recovered their country only after c. 840 A.C., and they became free of Pallava control, only when in c. 880 A.C. their king Āditya defeated Aparājita Pallava (*Epi. Ind.* v. 9, p. 88). Tirumaṅgai must therefore be placed between c. 840 and 880 A.C. But Pallava Nandivarman III (c. 830-855 A.C.), the hero of Tellāru, was, according to the *Nandikkalam-bakam*, a staunch Śaiva. He could not therefore be the Pallava referred to in the above passage by Tirumaṅgai. We must therefore infer that his son Nṛpatuṅga (c. 855-880 A.C.), who was a Vaiṣṇava (Bāhūr plates *South Ind. Inscs.* v. 2, No. 98), was the king here referred to. On the other hand, we know that Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II (acc. 862 A.C.), who was still ruling in c. 880 A.C., and defeated Pṛthvipati II Gaṅga at Purambayam (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* No. 337 of 1912), was an ardent Śaiva (*ibid.* No. 414 of 1904; *Tiruvācakam-Pōrirttiruvakaval*; *Tirukkōvaiyār*—sts. 306, 327; *Tiruvīdaimarudūr-mummaṇikkōvai* l. 28). He cannot therefore be the Pāṇḍya referred to by Tirumaṅgai; and Śrīvallabha, his father, and disciple of Periyālvār, was, in all probability, the Vaiṣṇavite Pāṇḍya of Tirumaṅgai. Thus Tirumaṅgai's reference to the Vaiṣṇava kings of his time can be definitely dated within c. 855-862 A.C.

But Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār relies on another passage for fixing Tirumaṅgai Ālvār's date in the 8th century A.C. That passage (*Periya-Tirumōḷi* 2-8-10) runs as follows:—*Mannavan Toṇḍaiyar-kōn vaṇangum niḷ-muḍimālai Vairamēghan, tan vali tan puhaḷ śūḷnda kacci Aṭṭabuyakarattāditannai.* Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār sees in this a contemporary reference to Dantidurga's conquest of Kāñcī in c. 754 A.C. He says that Vairamēgha, referred to here, as being bowed down to by the Toṇḍai king and as having laid siege to Kāñcī, must be identical with Dantidurga, who is called Vairamēgha in the Kaḍaba plates (*Epi. Ind.* v. 4, No. 134), and was ruling

in 754 A.C. (*Ind. Ant.* v. 11, p. 110). It is true that Dantidurga is said to have taken Kāñcī (*Epi. Ind.* v. 9, No. 4); but it is difficult to understand why Tirumaṅgai should refer to the raid of foreign king and the humiliation of his own in a hymn dedicated to the Aṣṭabhujakara temple at Kāñcī; and, even if Dantidurga had, like Vikramāditya II (*Epi. Ind.* v. 9, No. 28), made rich gifts to that temple, we should expect the saint to refer, if at all, only to his munificence. But we do not know of any such gifts, and the poet too is said to refer, not to them, but to the raid. We need therefore have no hesitation in rejecting such an untoward interpretation. *Śūnda* then should mean, not besieged, but guarded. The poet says that Vairamēgha guarded the Aṣṭabhujakara temple of Kāñcī by his prowess and his fame; and all that goes before in the above passage must be taken to refer to Vairamēgha himself. He was a king (*mannavan*), and the lord of the Toṇḍai country (*Toṇḍaiyar-kōṇ*). He was a devotee of the God of that temple (*vaṇaṅgum vairamēghan*), and he had a high crown (*nīl-muḍi*) and a garland (*mālai*). Thus Vairamēgha was a king of Kāñcī, and a servant of God, but when he lived we are not told. It is Tirumaṅgai's habit to mention, in connection with the temples to which he dedicates his hymns, the kings who had become associated with them by their devotion and munificence. Thus he mentions Śenkaṇṇ with Naraīyūr, Nandi with Nandipura-Viṣṇugṛha, Pallavamalla with Paramēśvara-Viṣṇugṛha, and Vairamēgha with Aṣṭabhujakara. As these kings did not all live in the same age, we are not justified in assuming any one or two of them alone to have been his contemporaries, without further evidence. This passage therefore is not of any special chronological value. But it may be of interest to ascertain the identity of this Vairamēgha. Titles ending in Mēgha were usual with Pallava kings, as may be seen from the titles Mahāmēgha (of Mahēndravarman), Citramēgha, and Śrīmēgha (of Rājasihma). Vairamēgha, therefore, is more likely to have been a Pallava rather than a foreign king; Dantidurga seems to have acquired the title by his conquest of Kāñcī, even as the Western Gaṅgas claim to have acquired the title of Perumāṇaḍi by conquest from the Pallavas. Traces, indeed, are not wanting in the Pallava country of a king named Vairamēgha. We have inscriptions in the North Arcot district, dated in the year 2 of Vairamēghavarman (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* Nos. 150 and 152 of 1916), and two villages named Vairamēgha-caturvēdimangalam (*ibid.* Nos. 71 and 84 of 1906). In c. 885 A.C., a feudatory of Aparājita calls himself Vairamēgha-Vāṇakōvaraiyan (*ibid.* No. 158 of 1912). Earlier still, in the 9th and 21st



years of Dantivarman (c. 790 and 802 A.C.), we hear of a tank called Vairamēgha (*ibid.* Nos. 61 and 74 of 1898). The fact that Dantidurga seems to have assumed the title Vairamēgha in c. 754 A.C., after his conquest of Kāñcī, suggests that it was at first the title of his Pallava contemporary Nandivarman II (c. 715-782 A.C.), and we accordingly hear of a Vairamēgha channel in Nandivarmamaṅgalam (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* Nos. 458 and 466 of 1908), and of a Nandīśvaram temple in Vairamēghapura (*ibid.* Nos. 253-258 of 1913). The Vairamēgha, referred to by Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, was therefore, in all probability, Nandivarman and not Dantidurga. But, as we have seen already, he need not have been a contemporary of the Ālvār, whom therefore nothing prevents us from placing in the 9th century A.C. If, moreover, we accept the cyclic year Nala for the birth of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, as given in the earliest traditional biographies, he must have been born in 776 A.C.; and his contemporary Periyālvār must have likewise lived in the 9th century A.C.

#### X. *The priority of all the Ālvārs to Nāthamuni.*

Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's final argument for a 8th century date for Periyālvār is based on the priority of all the Ālvārs to Nāthamuni, the earliest of the Ācāryas. He says that the sharp distinction between the Ālvārs and the Ācāryas is due to the gulf of time that separated them, and that therefore Periyālvār must have lived long before Nāthamuni was born in 825 A.C. This date seems to be a mistake for the 823 A.C. given in the Śrīraṅgam *Kōyiloḷuku*; and the inference from the distinction between the Ālvārs and the Ācāryas seems likewise to be a mistake, as Kūrattālvār is called an Ālvār, though he was a disciple of Rāmānuja, who came long after Nāthamuni. The distinction seems, in fact, to be based upon the time-honoured distinction between the path of devotion, which the Ālvārs followed, and the path of knowledge, which the Ācāryas adopted, in part. So all the Ālvārs need not have lived before all the Ācāryas. The *Guruparamparais* no doubt say that Nāthamuni came long after the Ālvārs had passed away, but this statement is only part of their chronological scheme of dating the Ālvārs from 1100 years before the Kali *yuga*, and, to bridge the distance of time, they had to assign the early Ālvārs 3325, Tirumaḷisai Ālvār 4700, Tondaraḍippoḍi and Tirumaṅgai each 105, Nāthamuni 340 or 99, Ālavandār 120, and Rāmānuja 120 years. On the other hand, to enhance the sanctity of Nammālvār, they go to the opposite extreme, and assign him only 35 years, as the Advaita traditions assign Śrī Śaṅkarācārya only 32 years, while making his disciple Sarvajña live for 800 years. We cannot therefore accept

the chronological scheme of the *Guruparamparais* as sober history, and must reject the dates 584 or 823-922 A.C for Nāthamuni, 916-1036 A.C. for Ālavandār, and 1017-1137 A.C. for Rāmānuja. Relying only on certain facts, we find that one of Nāthamuni's pupils drafted the Anbil plates of Cōḷa Parāntaka II (953-979 A.C.). On the other hand, Nāthamuni, according to the earliest *Guruparamparai*, received the *Nālāyiram* from Nammālvār himself, who revealed himself to Nāthamuni, when the latter, engaging himself in *yōga* invoked his aid, acting on the advice of Parāṅkuśadāsa, a disciple of Nammālvār's own disciple Madhurakavi, who himself had taught Parāṅkuśadāsa his hymn *kanninun śiruttāmbu*. As the *Nālāyiram* comprises the hymns of all the Ālvārs this statement implies that all the Ālvārs should have passed away before Nāthamuni met Parāṅkuśadāsa. But, on the other hand, the *Divyasūricaritam*, the earliest of the existing accounts, says that Nāthamuni received from Nammālvār only his *Tiruvāymoli*. If this statement is accepted, some of the Ālvārs might even have been living in the time of Nāthamuni. The only facts, indeed, of which we can be certain, are that Nāthamuni came in the next generation after Nammālvār, and that, as he was the compiler of the collected works of all the Ālvārs he must have outlived them all, even if some of them had been his contemporaries. We can therefore only infer that all the Ālvārs, including Periyālvār, must have lived before c. 900 A.C.; and it is not in the least needful that Periyālvār and his contemporaries should have lived only in the 8th century A.C.

I have now come to the end of my brief inquiry. I have given my best consideration to the views of Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār, who has done more for Tamiḷ literary history than perhaps any other scholar now living, but find myself unable to accept them. I have stated my doubts and difficulties, and the facts and inferences on which they are based, in the hope that Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār will try to meet them fairly and convincingly; and I may assure him that I shall try to keep an open mind and gladly accept his views, if he can only establish them beyond reasonable doubt. I know I am not competent to meet him on an equal footing on points of Tamiḷ scholarship; but

*yuktiyuktavacō grāhyam bālādapi śukādapi.*

## THE GĪTA-GOVINDA—A PROSODIC STUDY

BY

P. G. GOPALAKRISHNA AIYAR, M.A.,

*Lecturer in English, University College, Rangoon.*

The Gīta-Govinda is one of the classics of Sanskrit devotional poetry with a continuous tradition of popularity extending over seven centuries. Its songs have a fervour and sweetness that appeal alike to *rasikas* and devotees. Even the anatomical task of examining its prosody is not without its pleasing recompense to the critic. It is the object of this paper to explain Jayadeva's musical metres in particular, so as to bring out the 'laws' that 'govern' them.

We shall first dispose of the non-musical metres (non-tāla will be a better term) in which the narrative and benedictory portions of the poem are written. The following is an analysis of the stanzas.

<i>Metre.</i>	<i>No. of Stanzas.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>	<i>No. of Stanzas.</i>
Śārdūlavikrīḍitam	39	Śloka	3
Harinī	10	Drutavilambitam	2
Vasantatilakam	8	Vamśastham	3
Śikharinī	6	Upendravajrā	2
Puṣpitāgrā	4	Indravajrā	1
Āryā	4	Pr̥thvī	1
Mālinī	3	Upajāti	1
Sragdharā	3		

Total No. of Stanzas—90.

The Śārdūlavikrīḍita, the metre of nearly half the stanzas is the first favourite without a second; the Harinī lags behind with only ten to its credit. The Śārdūla's primacy is beyond doubt due to its inherent suppleness. The

Hariṇī and Śikharīṇī are slow-moving metres ; the former being the slower of the two because its short series is all in the beginning—the opening briskness only emphasises the dragging of the latter part. In the Śikharīṇī there is a slight recovery in the middle from the opening heaviness ; the fall has a peculiar breaking effect. Every time that poet has used one or the other, he has called these qualities into appropriate play. The Śārdūla's suppleness is exercised in various contexts and in varying speeds—from high speed to a sloth approaching that of the Hariṇī.

The songs are 24 in number. They are built on a mātrā or mora basis, the line consisting of a number of feet, each one of which is equal in mora-value to any other. Thus the line

कज्जल मलिनवि लोचन चुंबनव विरचित नीलिम रूपम् has 7 feet, each of  
— —, — —, — —, — —, — —, — —, — —

which is four moras. It must be remembered that the mora is primarily a unit of time.

We shall now proceed to analyse the Aṣṭapadīs (as the songs are called because each song has as a rule 8 verses). In each case, the first verse and the refrain are considered, the other seven verses showing exactly the same scansion as the first.

I प्रलयपयोधिजले धृतवानसि वेदम् ।

विहितवह्निरचरित्रमखेदम्

केशवधृतमीनशरीर जय जगदीश हरे ॥ Refrain.

— —, — —, — —, — —, — — | 4 feet  
— —, — —, — —, — — || 3 feet  
— —, — —, — —, — — (—), — —, — — || 6 feet 1

The foot is to be regarded, not as consisting of four moras, but of two bimoras—in other words the line can be reduced to a sequence of bimoras (or two 'longs'). The single mora syllable does not stand by itself ; it is always accompanied by its companion. The exceptions, causing the combination — — are so few as to emphasise the rule. The unit of measurement therefore is the bimora in this and all similar Aṣṭapadīs that follow.

The fourth foot in the Refrain, ending जय, has only 3 moras. Evidently in singing, the य will be lengthened or pause filled to make up the full complement.

1. It ought to be mentioned that in singing, the refrain or parts of the refrain may be repeated. We are not concerned with such variations here.

10 b (2nd line of 10th verse : this song has 10 verses each describing one of the ten avatāras) begins with a non-integral foot. धूमकेतुमिव — — — — —  
The division is easily made in singing.

II श्रितकमलाकुचमण्डल धृतकुण्डल ए ।

कलितललितवनमाल ॥

जय जय देव हरे ॥ Refrain

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ।

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ॥

5 feet and 3 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ॥ 3 feet.

The ए at the end of the first lines found in all printed editions is a natural musical filling of the verse. It will be found that this is necessary in other songs also.

The close of the 2nd line requires completion by a single mora (as in I above) and the refrain is to be completed by lengthening the last vowel ए in हरे to the extent of a bimora.

8a reads श्रीजय देवक वेरिदं कुरुते मुदम् ए

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —

Both the दम्'s (इदम् and मुदम्) are to be pronounced lightly so as to occupy only one mora space of time.

III ललितलवङ्गलतापरिशिलनकोमलमलयसमीरे ।<sup>1</sup>

मधुकरनिकरकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुञ्जकुटीरे ॥

विहरति हरीरिह सरस वसन्ते ।

नृत्यति युवतिजनेन समं सखि विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते ॥ Refrain.

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 4 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 7 feet

1. One Mr. Brown who wrote very many years ago a book on Sanskrit Prosody (containing nothing more than the usual metre lists and a few cheap gibes at the paṇḍits) airily remarks that in this poem 'the laws of harmony supersede those of prosody' and cites this particular song as 'sufficiently exemplifying this liberty'. It is difficult to find what the gentleman meant by his 'laws' but it is easy to see that he could not differentiate between an Akṣaracchandās and a tāḷa-metre. And the worst of it is, in this particular song, there is not a single 'defective' foot.

In 5a, there is a non-integral foot

मदनमहीपतिकनकदण्डरुचि

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~

IV चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेबरपीतवसनवनमाली ।

केलिचलन्मणिकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डयुगस्मितशाली ॥

हरिरिह मुग्धवधूनिकरे ।

विलासिनि विलसति केलिपरे ॥ Refrain

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 7 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, — (—) | 4 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, — (—) || 4 feet

The final long vowel in both lines of the refrain is to be extended by a bimora—the ला in विलासिनि to be lightly sounded so as to occupy one mora space of time only.

Analysis of the whole song shows that the poet has used the measure here almost as an *Akṣaracchandās*—that is to say, there are very few variations from the type above in the make-up of the feet.

V सञ्चरदधरसुधामधुरध्वनिमुखरितमोहनवंशम् ।

चलितदृगञ्चलचञ्चलमौलिकपीलविलीलवतंसम् ॥

रासे हरिमिह विहितविलासम् ।

स्मरति मनो मम कृतपरिहासम् ॥ Refrain

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 7 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet

——, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 4 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet

In 36 is a non-integral foot

बन्धुजीवमधुराधर

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ... ..

VI निभृतनिकुञ्जगृहं गतया निशि रहसि निलीय वसन्तम् ।

चकितविलोकितसकलदिशा रतिरभसभरेण हसन्तम् ॥

सखि हे केशिमथनमुदारम् ।

रमय मया सह मदनमनोरथभावितया सविकारम् ॥ Refrain.



〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰 | 7 feet  
 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰 || 7 feet  
 〰〰, 〰(〰), 〰〰〰 〰〰 | 4 feet  
 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰 || 7 feet

केशि in Refrain is to be pronounced so as to occupy the time space of four moras, either by lengthening शि or pausing after it.

VII मामियं चलित्वा विलोक्य वृतं वधूनिचयेन ।

सापराधतया मयापि न वारितातिभयेन ॥

हरिहरि हतादरतया, गता सा कुपितेव ॥ Refrain.

〰 〰〰, 〰〰 〰〰, 〰 〰〰, 〰 〰 | 4 feet  
 〰 〰〰, 〰 〰〰, 〰 〰〰, 〰 〰 || 4 feet  
 〰〰〰〰, 〰〰〰 (—), 〰 〰〰, 〰 〰 || 4 feet

The foot is 7 moras long; the final feet in all lines to be prosodically lengthened in singing to the extent of four moras—thus — (〰〰〰) (〰) or any other form. The particular mode of filling up will probably depend on the rāga employed. The 2nd foot in the refrain is to be completed by an extension of 2 moras; there is a pause here.

Analysis of all the verses reveals the fact that the poet has used this measure exactly like an *Akṣaracchandās*. All the pādas scan exactly after the same pattern; in other words, the 'longs' and 'shorts' are definitely fixed in their places.

VIII निन्दति चन्दनमिन्दुकिरणमनुविन्दति खेदमधीरम् ।

व्यालनिलयमिलनेन गरलमिव कलयति मलयसमीरम् ॥

सा विरहे तव दीना ।

माधवमनासिजविशिखभयादिव भावनया त्वयि लीना ॥ Refrain.

〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰〰. 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰 | 7 feet  
 〰〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰 || 7 feet  
 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰 | 3 feet  
 〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰, 〰〰 || 7 feet

IX स्तनविनिहितमपि हारमुदारम् ।

सा मनुते कृशतनुरिव भारम् ।

राधिका तव विरहे केशव ॥ Refrain

˘ ˘ ˘ , ˘ ˘ ˘ , ˘ ˘ , — — | 4 feet  
 — — , ˘ ˘ , ˘ ˘ ˘ , — — || 4 feet  
 — (˘) , ˘ ˘ , ˘ ˘ , — — || 4 feet

राधिका is to be pronounced राधीका or in any other way so as to make four moras out of the first syllables.

This is identical with the prevailing measure of the famous Ōṭṭam Tuḷḷal poems in Malayāḷam. It is usually regarded as a Bhāṣā Vṛtta or indigenous metre. But there is a strong *prima facie* case for thinking that Kunjan Nambiar, the reputed introducer of the measure into Malayāḷam got it from Jayadeva.

(1) The Gīta-Govinda, popularly called the Aṣṭapadī in Malabar is known to have been a favourite all along in the country and to have exerted a strong influence on its literature, though the exact extent of this influence is as yet unexplored.

(2) Nambiar interested himself in Kṛṣṇa literature.

(3) The indigenous tāḷa metres seem to have the characteristic feature of freely lengthening short syllables for prosodic purposes, whereas this particular metre does not show it. The final spondee characteristic of this metre is another coincidence.

(4) The tradition that Nambiar invented and perfected the style in a single night cannot historically mean anything more than that he wrote the first of his famous Tuḷḷals in that short time. The originality consisted in his having thought of using a metre, already perfected in another language, for a Malayāḷam composition. And Jayadeva is a very likely source of his borrowing. Jayadeva himself was using measures current in his vernacular.

X बहति मलयसमीरे मदनमुपनिधाय ।

स्फुटति कुसुमनिकरे विरहिहृदयदलनाय ॥

तव विरहे वनमाली सखि सीदति ॥ Refrain.

The verses scan, as they stand, as follows :

˘ ˘ , ˘ ˘ ˘ — — , ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — — |  
 — — , ˘ ˘ ˘ , ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ — — ||  
 ˘ , ˘ , ˘ — — , ˘ , — — ||

All the verses have the same three pauses and consist of similar grammatical forms ; and also all the lines have exactly the same prosodic pattern. In other words, the metre may be regarded as an *Akṣaracchandās* of the *Ardhasama* kind.

The mora basis is somewhat disguised. But it is there all the same. Scan the lines as follows (or in any other way answering the same purpose)

वहती मलयस मीरे मदनाममुपनी धाया ।

स्फुटती कुसुमनि कारे विरहिहृदयदल नाया ॥

तव विर हेए वनमा लीसाखि सीदति ॥

that is —, | —, —, —, | —, —, —, — |  
 —, | —, —, —, | —, —, —, — ॥  
 —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥

The song is exceptional in the matter of lengthenings; but the phenomenon is paralleled by the prosodic lengthenings in indigenous Malayālam metres, for instance. The word 'lengthening' used in this connection is not quite accurate; for the time interval may really be completed by pauses; at any rate it is not a pure 'quantity' change. The quantitative notation used in these scansions is only a matter of convenience.

The pādas fall into three vertically rhyming sections of one, two and three feet or syllabic groups (if the verse is regarded as an *Akṣaracchandās*) respectively.

XI रतिसुखसारे गतमभिसारे मदनमनोहरवेषम् ।

न कुरु नितम्बिनि गमनविलम्बनमनुसर तं हृदयेशम् ॥

धीरसमीरे यमुनातीरे वसति वने वनमाली ।

गोपीपीनपयोधरमर्दनचञ्चलकरयुगशाली ॥ Refrain.

—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 7 feet  
 —, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 7 feet  
 —, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 7 feet  
 —, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 7 feet

XII पश्यति दिशि दिशि रहसि भवन्तम् ।

तदधरमधुरमधूनि पिबन्तम्

नाथ हरे सीदति राधा वासगृहे ॥ Refrain.

—, —, —, —, —, — | 4 feet  
 —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 4 feet  
 —, —, —, —, —, — or better  
 —, —(—), —, —, —, —(—) 6 feet

XIII कथितसमयेऽपि हरिरहह न ययौ वनम् ।

ममविफलमिदममलरूपमपि यौवनम् ॥

यामिहे कमिह शरणं सखीजनवचनवञ्चिता ॥

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~ | 4 feet

~~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet

~~, ~~~~~, ~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~ || Refrain.

The foot is a five-mora one. The metre of this pāda is identical with the well-known Kiṭippāṭṭu Vṛttam in Malayālam. In the prevailing form of this measure in Malayālam, there will be at least one long in the foot ; but the forms with fully resolved feet are not uncommon.

It will be noticed that the final foot has the fixed form ——— just as the lines on a four-mora basis have a spondee (——) at the end. The cretic close is also characteristic of the Malayālam measure.

XIV स्मरसमरोचितविरचितवेशा ।

गालितकुसुमदरविलुलितकेशा ॥

कापि मधुरिपुणा विलसति युवतिरधिकगुणा ॥ Refrain.

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~ | 4 feet

~~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet

-(~)~, ~~~~~, -(~) | ~~~~~, ~~~-(~), ~~~~~, --(——) 7 feet.

The refrain is to be filled up as above.

XV समुदितमदने रमणीवदने चुम्बनवलिताधरे ।

मृगमदतिलकं लिखतिस पुलकं मृगमिव रजनीकरे ॥

रमते यमुनापुलिनवने विजयी मुरारिरधुना ॥ Refrain

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 7 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~~~, ~~~, ~~~-(~)~~~~, -(——) || 7 feet

The iambic ending is noticeable. The foot is to be extended by a mora. There is a non-integral foot in the refrain.

The metre is used almost as an *Akṣaracchandā* only the third foot showing equivalent variations.

XVI अनिलतरलकुवलयदलनेन

तपति न सा किसलयशयनेन ॥

सखि या रमिता वनमालिना ॥ Refrain.











XXII राधावदनविलोकनविकसितविविधविकारविभङ्गम् ।

हरिमेकरसं चिरमभिलषितविलासम् ।

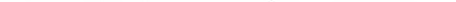
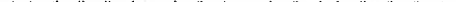

सा ददर्श गुरुहर्षवशंवदवदनमनङ्गविकारम् ॥

 7 feet  
 7 feet  
 5 feet  
 7 feet

XXIII किसलयशयनतले कुरु कामिनि चरणनलिनविनिवेशम् ।

तव पदपल्लववैरिपराभवमिदमनुभवतु सुवेषम् ॥

क्षणमधुना नारायणमनुगतमनुसर भो राधिके ॥ Refrain

 7 feet  
 7 feet  
 7 feet

XXIV कुरु यद्वनन्दन चन्दनशिशिरतरेण करेण पयोधरे ।

मृगमदपत्रकमत्र मनोभवमङ्गलकलशसहोदरे ॥

निजगाद सा यदुनन्दने क्रीडति हृदयानन्दने ॥ Refrain

$\cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup \mid$   
 $\cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup, \cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup \parallel$   
 $\cup\cup, \cup\cup(\cup) \mid \cup\cup\cup \cup\cup(\cup) \mid \cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup\cup, \cup\cup\cup \parallel$

The close of each verse in pāda and refrain, is the group ——. Since the base is a four mora one, *either* one of the longs in the last three syllables is to be 'shortened' or the five moras in — have to be completed into two feet by extending the group so as to cover 8 moras in singing.

Analysis of the whole song shows that the poet has practically used the measure as an *Akṣaracchandās*; the *Rasikapriyā* calls it *रासकच्छन्दस्*. 16a of the song reads (in both the editions, I have consulted),—

मम रुचिरे चिकुरे कुरु मानद मनसिजध्वजचामरे which does not scan. I propose the reading *मदनजयध्वज* for the portion printed in thick types. The metre is thereby rectified and alliteration improved.

We are now in a position to summarise the general features of Jayadeva's *mātrā*-prosody. The unit of measurement is naturally a time unit, the terms 'short' and 'long' and the notation used being only a convenient convention. Twenty out of the twenty-four songs have the four-mora foot, the unit being the bimora. Three have a five mora foot, and one a seven mora one.

Defective feet, so called, are surprisingly few. As a rule they occur only in the refrain. Sometimes they are found at the end of *pāda* lines. In the refrains, too, their place is either at the end or in places of natural pause. The various modes of filling up have been already indicated. 'Lengthening' of 'short' syllables is a phenomenon that goes with the defective foot in *tāla*-metres. The most important case is that of a final long being converted into the usual spondee. This may either be the absolute final or the final of a natural internal division. In either case the principle is the same. Brown's generalisation that the laws of harmony supersede those of prosody is a mistaken one. Rather, the *Gīta-Govinda* songs are a harmony between the two sets of laws—which is something quite different from supersession of one by the other.

Non-integral feet are only sporadic. They number less than half a dozen in the whole poem. In other words the type  $\sim$  (the point does not arise in the case of the five and seven mora feet) is practically non-existent.

The initial feet are as a rule  $\sim\sim\sim$ . Indeed just four-fifths of the lines begin with this group. The exceptions take the form  $\sim\sim$  almost invariably. Of the dactyls ( $\sim\sim\sim$ ) one in almost every song is caused by the word *श्रीजयदेव*. There is one *Aṣṭapadī*, the 4th, which has the dactyl initial in every *pāda* and the metre here is practically an *Akṣaracchandās*.

The final foot in the four mora-foot lines is, as a rule a spondee ( $\sim\sim$ ) or a single long. The exceptions obey a law of their own. They usually occur in perfect or nearly perfect *Akṣaracchandās*. Rhyme, vertical and

horizontal, internal and final alliteration and assonance are ever present. Some of the complex rhyme-schemes (as in XIX e.g.) are strikingly beautiful. The rhyme falls on the last syllable (of line or part of line) and the preceding vowel. Sometimes it extends to the two last syllables and the vowel preceding.

It goes without saying that Jayadeva's mastery of metre is of a high order of excellence. His technique remains on the high level to which the Mahākāvya poets had raised Sanskrit verse. He keeps the balance between the rhetorical style and the plain one. Often enough, he has long compounds covering a whole pāda. Sometimes even a hemistich; but he never degenerates into sound and fury. He gets suggestive effects by often following up a rapid 'compound' here with a many-paused short-worded one. The *enjambed ardha*—one of the chief advances made by the Mahākāvya poets—is often in evidence; the effect of it being of course to make of the stanza two hemistiches instead of four pādas—which is a frequent source of monotony in second-rate Sanskrit poetry.

The prime quality of Jayadeva's verse is sweetness. It is only natural in a poet, whose devotional fervour was exercised in realising God by the *Madhurabhāva*. There are no thunder claps on swelling billows, no harsh threatening *virya* in the march of his verse; it is ever mellifluous, sweet with the sweetness of confident love. One thinks of the flute and the *Vīṇā* of tinkling kinkinis and pagoda bells of golden anklets and *nūpurās* translating a fairy dance into their own rhythm.

It will be seen that his range is somewhat limited by the nature of the poet's subject; but within this restricted range he produces wonderful effects. Such lines as

किं च खिग्धरसालमौलिमुकुलन्यालोक्य हर्षोदया-

दुन्मीलन्ति कुहूः कुहूरिति कलोलालाः पिकानां गिरः ॥

which have a fine onomatopoeic effect ;

or युवतिषु बलत्तृष्णे कृष्णे विहारिणि मां विना

पुनरपि मनो वामं कामं करोति करोमि किम् ॥

the sound of which is the very sobbing moan of Rādhā ;

or भूपल्लवं धनुरपाङ्गतरङ्गितानि बाणा गुणः श्रवणपालिरिति स्मरेण ।

तस्यामनङ्गजयजङ्गमदेवताया-मन्त्राणि निर्जितजगन्ति किमर्पितानि ॥

in which the pauses are distributed (that is, the pace managed) with a rare skill;

or अतिक्रम्यापाङ्गं श्रवणपथपर्यन्तगमन—  
 प्रयासेनेवाक्ष्णोरमलतरतारं गमितयोः ।  
 इदानीं राधायाः प्रियतमसमायातसमये  
 पपात स्वेदाम्बुप्रसर इव हर्षाश्रुनिकरः ॥

where we seem to hear the sudden bursting and raining of tears in the final quaver of the last pāda after the laboured long-drawn sigh of the first three ;

or सा ससाध्वससानन्दं गोविन्दे लोललोचना ।  
 शिञ्जाना मणिमञ्जीरे प्रविवेश निवेशनम् ॥

which gloriously suggests the sound of Rādbā's steps coming at last into the Bower of Bliss and which are followed by that wonderful song (XXI) quoted later on that echoes with the rousing sound of marriage-bells, are to be found in plenty in the book.

But it is in the songs that we get the best of Jayadeva. They excel in all the qualities that go to make music in words even without their being set to a tune or without instrumental aid. It is difficult to choose from such abundance of beauty. But one may prefer some of them for the sake of preference. One notes how in that first song of the avatāras, even the killing of Rāvaṇa is sweetened by the poet's words

वितरसि दिक्षु रणे दिक्पतिकमनीयं  
 दशमुखमौलिबलिं रमणीयम् ॥

The famous song beginning ललितलवङ्गलतापरिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे, मधुकरनि-  
 करकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुञ्जकुटीरे with its joyous refrain विहरति हरिरिह सरसव-  
 सन्ते, नृत्यति युवतिजनेन समं सखि विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते is the very dance of spring,  
 scattering colour and sound in plenteous cascades, the ए rhymes at the end  
 suggesting the longing with which spring travails. The charge of rhyme in  
 the last pāda of the song is noticeable, हरिचरणस्मृतिसारम् मदनविकारम्. This  
 has the effect of slowing down the quick march of the song, of bringing the  
 tremulous heart to a restful close. The spirit of the love-dance is equally  
 well brought out in the 4th song चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेवरपीतवसनवनमाली. The  
 gradual speeding up of the movement till excitement is reached in that final—  
 श्लिष्यति कामपि चुम्बति कामि कामपि रमयति रामाम् is one of the first effects

in the book. Take again the following song :

सञ्चरदधरसुधामधुरध्वनिमुखरितमोहनवंशम् ।

चलितदृगञ्चलचञ्चलमौलिकपोलविलोलवतंसम् ॥

रासे हरिमिह विहितविलासम् । स्मरति मनो मम कृतपरिहासम् ॥

The dancing rhythm of the pādas realises the sporting figure of Kṛṣṇa; the रासे that opens the refrain expresses the moving pathos of Rādhā's longing, the effect being continued by the slow movement of the whole refrain. The refrain of the 8th song माधव मनसिजविशिखमयादिव भावनया त्वयि लीना, सा विरहे तव दीना is a perfect jewel in itself, the short line that echoes the sound of the latter half of the opening giving a magic effect to the pleading of the sakhī. Nowhere has internal rhyme been used more effectively than in the 11th song

रतिस्त्रुखसारे गतमभिसारे मदनमनोहरवेषम् ।

न कुरु नितम्बिनि गमनविलम्बनमनुसर तं हृदयेशम् ॥

धीरसमीरे यमुनातीरे वसति वने वनमाली ।

गोपीपीनपयोधरमर्दनचञ्चलकरयुगशाली ॥

Again, the 17th song

रजनिजनितगुरुजागररागकषायितमलसानिवेशम् ।

बहति नयनमनुरागमिव स्फुरदुदितरसाभिनिवेशम् ॥

हरि हरि याहि माधव याहि केशव मा वद कैतववादम् ।

तामनुसर सरसीरुहलोचन या तव हरति विषादम् ॥ etc.

The torrential eloquence of anger in the pāda and the telling scorn in the multi-paused refrain make this song a supreme expression in verse musical or otherwise of the sentiment of the Khanditā-nāyikā on which almost every poet makes it a point of honour to exercise his wit in conceit and skill in words. Even this song is probably surpassed by the 19th song beginning

वदसि यदि किञ्चिदपि दन्तरुचि कौमुदी

हरति दरतिमिरमतिधीरम् ।

स्फुरदधरशीघ्रवे तववदनचन्द्रमा

रोचयतु लोचनचकोरम् ॥

प्रिये चारुशीले मुञ्च मयि मानमनिदानम् ।

सपदि मदनानलो दहति मम मानसं देहि मुखकमलमधुपानम् ॥—

the music of which now flowing in a stream of sheer sweetness of Vīṇā string, now tintillating with the gentle *rava* of pagoda bells in the evening silence, is hard to match. An equal favourite with the Kathākaḷi musicians (who keep alive the tradition of the poem even today) is the 21st song beginning मञ्जुतरकुञ्जतलकेलिसदने. The next song which opens the glorious close of the love-tale runs

राधावदनविलोकनविकसितविविधविकारविभङ्गम् ।

जलनिधिमिव विधुमण्डलदर्शनतरलिततुङ्गतरङ्गम् ॥

swiftly lifts us to an atmosphere of joy.

The Gīta-Govinda constitutes in itself an ample indication of these decorative features which in the hands of lesser poets sometimes degenerate into cheap tricks. Even the austerity of Śaṅkarācārya's sentiment gains from these features in his devotional poetry.



## EQUATION OF TIME IN HINDU ASTRONOMY.

By

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A.,

Calcutta.

The Sūrya Siddhānta recognises that the apparent solar day, *i.e.*, the interval of time from one sun-rise to the next, is variable, and this is evident from the following division of time :—

Time that is measurable is that which is in common use, beginning with the *prāṇa* (प्राण). The *pala* (पल) or *vināḍī* (विनाडी) contains six *prāṇas*. The *ghaṭikā* or *nāḍī* is 60 palas, and the *Nakṣatra ahōrātra* or sidereal day and night, contains 60 *ghaṭikās* and *Nakṣatra māsa* or sidereal month consists of 30 sidereal days.<sup>1</sup>

The same work gives the following rule for finding out the length of an apparent solar day in sidereal units :—“Multiply the diurnal motion (in minutes) of a planet by the number of *prāṇas* which the sign, in which the planet is, takes in its rising (at a given place); divide the product by 1800' (the number of minutes which each sign or *rāśi* of 30' of the ecliptic contains), add the quotient, in *prāṇas*, to the number of *prāṇas* contained in one sidereal day (*i.e.*,  $6 \times 60 \times 60$  or 21600 *prāṇas*); the sum will be the apparent day of that planet in *prāṇas*”.<sup>2</sup>

Here 1800 is the number of minutes of one *rāśi* or sign of the ecliptic. Let the time taken by a particular sign to rise above the horizon be *p*, *prāṇas*; *d*, the daily motion of a planet in minutes; and *x*, the time in *prāṇas* by which a planet's day exceeds the sidereal day, the excess being due to its eastward motion among the stars; therefore  $1800 : d :: p : x$  or  $x = \frac{dp}{1800}$  *prāṇas*. This is the rule.

This rule is based on the knowledge of two facts: (1) that the daily motion in longitude of any planet is a variable quantity; and (2) that the different signs of the zodiac take different intervals of time to rise above the horizon at any station, (*i. e.*) at any place on the equator.

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter I, verses 11 & 12.

2. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verse 59.

The Sūrya Siddhānta then proceeds to find out the corrections to longitude of planets due to one part of the equation of time. "Multiply the diurnal motion of a planet by the number of minutes contained in the first equation of the sun, and divide the product by the number of minutes contained in a circle *i.e.*, 21600'; add or subtract the quotient, in minutes, according as the sun's equation is additive to, or subtractive from, the place of the planet (which is found from the *Ahargana* at the mean midnight at Laṅkā, the result will be the place of the planet at the true midnight at Laṅkā)."¹ This is called the *Bhujāntara* correction in minutes.

The *Bhujāntara* correction is to be applied to the place of a planet found from the *Ahargana* for finding the place of the planet at the true midnight at Laṅkā, arising from that portion of the equation of time which is due to the sun in the ecliptic.

BhāskaraĀcārya in his Siddhānta Śirōmaṇi has, however, laid down more accurate rules:—

"Multiply the sun's equation of centre by the time which, the sign of the zodiac in which the sun is, takes to rise at any place on the equator and divide by the number of *prāṇas* in a whole day, then apply this last quotient positively or negatively to the longitude of a planet, according as the sun's equation of centre is applied positively or negatively. This correction is called *Bhujāntara*."²

These rules will be evident from the way in which the longitude of a planet is calculated. The equation of time is the difference of the right ascensions of the true sun moving along the equator. It has got two parts; one is the difference in the right ascensions of the true sun and a fictitious star moving along the ecliptic with the mean motion of the sun; while the other is the difference in the right ascensions of the mean sun moving along the equator and the fictitious star. The former is called *Bhujāntara* and the latter *Udayāntara* in Hindu Astronomy. It was Bhāskara who, among all Hindu astronomers, first detected this *Udayāntara* correction.

Bhāskara gives the following proof of *Bhujāntara*:—

"The longitude that has been found for the mean sun-rise is converted to that for the apparent sun-rise. First convert the sun's equation of centre into *prāṇas* by proportion; if the number of minutes in a sign rising on the equator be known, in how many *prāṇas* will the arc of the equation of centre rise? Then take another proportion. If the number of *prāṇas* of a day

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verse 46.

2. Siddhānta Śirōmaṇi, Grahagaṇitam, Chapter VIII, verse 61.

changes the longitude of a planet by the amount of daily motion, what will be the change for these *prāṇas*? The result in minutes should then be applied negatively or positively as the apparent sun rises before or after the mean sun. Hence the rule is proved."<sup>1</sup>

Then Bhāskara gives the rule for the Udayāntara correction :—"To the mean sun add the total amount of the precession of the equinoxes; find the sign in which the sun now falls and the degrees of it which are passed over. Multiply the degrees of the sign by the degrees of that sign while on the equator and divide by 30'. The result is the number of *bhukta-asūs* (or *prāṇas* passed over) by that sign. Now add up the *asūs* (*prāṇas*) of the whole signs while on the equator passed over by the sun and add to this sun the *bhukta-asūs* found above. The result is the number of *prāṇas* of the right ascension of the mean sun. Next reduce the mean longitude of the sun to which the total amount of precession has been added to minutes of arc. Take the difference of these minutes and those *prāṇas*, multiply the daily motion of a planet by it and divide by the total number of *asūs* of a whole day; add the result which is in minutes of arc to the longitude of the planet if the number of *asūs* is greater than the number of minutes and subtract if the minutes are greater in number. This correction is called Udayāntara."

Bhāskara has given the following proof of his rule :—"The Ahargana (the number of days elapsed since creation) that has been found elsewhere (for the calculation of longitudes) is of mean solar units (days), as the apparent solar day is variable. The sixty sidereal ghaṭikās increased by the number of *asūs* (which are equal to the minutes of arc) in the mean daily motion of the sun is equal to one mean solar day, i.e., sixty ghaṭikās 59 *prāṇas* and sixtieths or 24 hrs. 3 min. 56 secs. 22 sixtieths, in sidereal time. But the apparent solar day equal to 60 ghaṭikās and the time in which the arc of the daily motion rises, and is, therefore, a variable quantity, because every day the daily motion is different and also because the times of rising of the different signs of different months are different. As the apparent Ahargana is not obtained in the way described above is not obtained in the way described before, we find the mean Ahargana; and we do not get the longitudes at the time of sun-rise at Laṅkā, but we get them sometimes for a moment a little before sun-rise and sometimes for a moment a little after sun-rise. Thus we find the mean Ahargana when the mean sun is near the horizon at Laṅkā".<sup>2</sup>

1. Vide Vāsanā Bhāṣya under verses 62, 63, 64 Grahagaṇita, Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi, Chapter. VIII.

2. Vide Vāsanā-Bhāṣya, Grahagaṇita, Chapter VIII Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi.

Bhāskara next proceeds to find out the difference between the mean and the apparent Ahargaṇa. "Add up the *asūs* at the time of the rise on the equator of the signs passed over by the sun from the beginning of the sign *mēṣa*. The resulting *asūs* is the excess of the Ahargaṇa over the sidereal day. Again the sun's longitude from the first point of the sign, *mēṣa* is converted into minutes which is the equatorial interval between the mean Ahargaṇa and the sidereal day. Hence the difference between the *asūs* and the minutes of arc is the difference between the two Ahargaṇas. Now apply the proportion. If the *asūs* of a whole day change the longitude by daily motion, what will be the change for this difference of *asūs*? The result is to be added or subtracted according as the *asūs* are greater or less than the minutes."

Bhāskara has given further explanation of his Udayāntara correction :—  
 "If the ecliptic be divided into four quadrants beginning from the vernal equinox, each quadrant will rise on the equator in 15 ghaṭikās (or 6 sidereal hours); but each sign will not rise in 5 ghaṭikās (2 sidereal hours) and the Udayāntara correction goes on increasing till the middle point of the first quadrant, and then continues to decrease. Hence at the end of each quadrant it vanishes (*i.e.*, four times a year) and attains the greatest value at the middle point of each quadrant. The method by which the Udayāntara correction is more accurately obtained is as follows :—to the mean longitude of the sun add the total amount of the precession of the equinoxes, now find the *ḥyā* (radius  $\times$  sine of longitude) of the longitude and the *Koṭijyā* of the corresponding declination (radius  $\times$  cosine of the declination); multiply this *ḥyā* by the *Koṭijyā* of the declination of the last point of the third sign and divide by the *Koṭijyā* of the declination. Find the arc in *asūs* of which this is the *ḥyā*; and diminish by these *asūs*, the number of minutes in the mean longitude of the sun as increased by the total amount of precession; the result is the correct number of *asūs* of Udayāntara. In this way at the middle of the quadrant the Udayāntara becomes a little greater than 26 palas" (*i.e.*, 10 minutes 26 seconds).<sup>1</sup>

Now if this Udayāntara correction is so much necessary as it is that part of the Equation of Time due to the obliquity of the Ecliptic, why is it not done by the former astronomers? Bhāskara replies by saying that "after all this correction is a variable and a small quantity and vanishes at the four ends of the four quarter years." Kamalākarabhaṭṭa in his *Siddhāntatattvaviveka* tried to refute this Udayāntara correction, but his

1. Vide Grahagaṇita, Chapter VIII.

arguments are not very convincing.<sup>1</sup> Bhāskara is the only Indian astronomer who found out the two parts of due Equation of Time.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Vide page 251, Bhāratiya Jyotiṣa Śāstra by S. B. Dikshit.

2. For the main points of this article I am indebted to Professor P. C. Sengupta of the Bethune College, Calcutta.

## CUTTELUTTU (DEMONSTRATIVE ROOT) IN TAMIL LANGUAGE.

By

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA ŚASTRI, M.A.L.T.,

*Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon.*

I propose to deal in this article about the different opinions of the Tamil grammarians regarding cutteluttu.

Tolkāppiyānār in the 31st sūtra of Nūnmarapu says 'அ இ உ அம்முன்றுஞ் சுட்டு'. Puttamittiraṇār, the author of Vīracōḷiyam repeats the same idea in the third line of the third stanza in Cantippaṭalam as 'அ இ உச்சுட்டாம்'. Peruntēvaṇār, the commentator on Vīracōḷiyam says 'அ இ உ என்னுமுன்றெழுத்து மொழிக்கு முதலிலே சுட்டெழுத்து என்னும்பெயரவாம்'. Pavaṇantimuniṇār, the author of Nannūl says in the 66th sūtra of eḷuttiaḷ 'அ இ உம்முதற் றனிவரிற் சுட்டே'. Vaittiyaṇātaṭēcikaṇār, the author of Ilakkaṇaṇiḷakkam says in the 6th sūtra of eḷuttiaḷ அ இ உ இவை மொழிமுதல் வரிற்சுட்டு' and thus agrees both with Peruntēvaṇār and Pavaṇantimuniṇār in the introduction of the expression 'மொழிமுதல்வரில்'; but he refutes Pavaṇantimuniṇār in his own commentary for having introduced the element 'தனிவரில்' in the definition thus:—மொழிமுதற்கண் தனித்துவரிற் சுட்டென்றும் உளராலோவெனின், 'சுட்டு வகரம்' எனவும் 'சுட்டின்முன்னாய்தம்' எனவும், உறுப்பாய் வருவனவற்றையுஞ் சுட்டென்று அவர் தாமே ஆளுதலானும், ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனாரும் 'அ இ உ அம்முன்றுஞ் சுட்டு' எனப்பொதுப்படக் கூறிச் 'சுட்டுமுதலுகரம்' எனவும் 'சுட்டின்முதலாகியவையினின்று' எனவும் பிறுண்டும் உறுப்பாய் வருவனவற்றையும், 'சுட்டின்முன்னர் ஞ நமத்தோன்றின்' எனவும் 'சுட்டினியற்கை' எனவும் பிறுண்டுஞ்சார்ந்து வருவனவற்றையுஞ் சுட்டென்றாராதலானும் அவர்க்கது கருத்தன்றென்க'.

Civaṇānacuvāmikaḷ in his Ilakkaṇaṇiḷakkac-cūṭṭāvaḷi refutes the opinion of Vaittiyaṇātaṭēcikaṇār and agrees with that of Pavaṇantimuniṇār:—நன்னூலார் மொழிமுதற்கட் சுட்டுப் பொருளுணர்த்திவரினல்லது சுட்டெழுத்தாகாவென்பார் 'தனிவரிற்சுட்டு' என்றார். தாமுமவ்வாறு கூறுது எவ்வாறு வரினுஞ் சுட்டெழுத்தாமென்று பொருள்படவாளா 'மொழிமுதல்வரிற் சுட்டு' என்றதுவமன்றி, அவர் கருத்தறியாது குற்றமுங் கூறினார்.



Here we have to consider carefully the definition of *cutṭu* as given by Pavaṇantimuniṇ, the objections against the same raised by Vaṭṭiyaṇāta tēcikaṇ and the counter-objections raised by Civaññānacuvāmikaḷ and then decide whether the definition as given by Tolkāppiyaṇār is accurate or that as given by Pavaṇantimuniṇ.

Pavaṇantimuniṇ's definition, as noted above, is 'அ இ உம்முதற்\* தனிவரிற் சுட்டே', Vaṭṭiyaṇātatēcikaṇ seems to have interpreted this in the sense that *cutṭeḷuttu* is any one of அ, இ and உ if it stands at the beginning of a word and stands by itself without forming a part of an integral portion of it (தனிவரில்—தனித்துநின்றால்). This is seen from the word 'உறுப்பாய்' found in 'உறுப்பாய் வருவனவற்றையுஞ் சுட்டென்று அவர் தாமே ஆளுதலானும் etc.' Hence he seems to think that, though the above definition can hold good so far as அ, இ and உ in அக்கொற்றன், இக்கொற்றன் etc., are concerned, yet it cannot hold good so far as அ, இ and உ in அக்கடிய (அவ் + கடய), இக்கடிய (இவ் + கடய) etc., அவ்யாழ் (அவ் + யாழ்), இவ்யாழ் (இவ் + யாழ்) etc., are concerned, where அ, இ, and உ do not stand by themselves, but form part and parcel of அவ், இவ், and உவ். (which are complete words meaning அவை இவை and உவை) Hence he quotes sūtras both from Nannūḷ and Tolkāppiyam which sanction the sandhi like அக்கடிய (அவ் + கடய), அந்நாடு (அவ் + நாடு), அவ்யாழ் (அவ் + யாழ்) etc., wherein அ forms a part of அவ் and so objects to the introduction of 'தனிவரில்' in the definition. But Civaññānacuvāmikaḷ beautifully interprets 'தனிவரில்' in the sense 'if it gives demonstrative sense by itself (தனித்து நின்று பொருள் உணர்த்திவரின்)'. The interpretation is no doubt very satisfactory; but how can 'தனிவரில்' mean தனித்து நின்று பொருள் உணர்த்திவரின்? If it is said that the name *cutṭu* itself suggests that meaning, it will surely suggest the same even when 'தனிவரில்' does not find a place there. Hence the expression தனிவரில் does not seem to be quite necessary in the definition. But all grammarians except Tolkāppiyaṇār and Puttamiṭṭiraṇār are unanimous in introducing the expression 'மொழிமுதல்' in the definition, (i.e.) they think that, unless அ, இ and உ stand as the initial member of a word, they cannot be called *cutṭeḷuttu*, though they may give demonstrative sense. But there are certain points in Tolkāppiyam which enable us to prove that they need

\* The word 'முதல்' in the definition might have been borrowed by Pavaṇantimuniṇ from Peruntēvaṇār's commentary on Vīracōḷiyam.

not always stand as the *initial* member. 205th sūtra<sup>1</sup> of Collatikāram says that அன், ஆன், அள் and ஆள் are the suffixes to denote the singular number (of both the masculine and feminine gender) of the third person. Sūtras 5 and 6<sup>2</sup> state that the final ன் and ள் respectively denote the masculine and feminine gender. If ன் and ள் of அன் and ஆன், அள் and ஆள் denote gender, what is it that denotes the third person if it is not அ or ஆ? ஆ is only the lengthened form of the cutṭu அ since such lengthening is sanctioned by Tolkāppiyānār's sūtra 'நீடவருதல் செய்யுளுருரித்தே' (எழுத்திகாரம், உயிர் மயங்கியல், 6) and Tolkāppiyānār himself uses it in the first sūtra of Collatikāram 'ஆயிருதிணையினிசைக்குமனசொல்லே'. Similarly 224th sūtra<sup>3</sup> of Collatikāram says that இர் and ஈர் are the suffixes to denote the second person plural. The 7th sūtra<sup>4</sup> of Collatikāram says that the final ி denotes the plural number. If ி of இர் and ஈர் denotes plural, is it not clear that இ and ஈ denote the second person? Besides, in the sūtra 'எல்லாருமென்னும் படர்க்கையிறுதியு, மெல்லீருமென்னு முன்னிலையிறுதியும்.....' (எழுத்திகாரம், உருபியல், 19) it is stated that எல்லாரும் is of the third person and எல்லீரும் is of the second person. Is it not that 'ஆ' in எல்லாரும் and ஈ in எல்லீரும் respectively denote that the words are of the third and second person? Hence cutṭu need not be the initial member of a word. Besides the word ஈங்கு is used in the sense of எங்கு in the sentence பிலம்புகவேண்டும் பெற்றி யீங்கில்லை (Cilappatikāram, 11, 153). I also hear from M. R. Ry. Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Iyēṅār, Chief Paṇḍit, Tamil Lexicon office that இங்கு, உங்கு and அங்கு are used in Jaffna even today in the sense of என்னிடம், உன்னிடம் and அவனிடம். Hence is it not evident that இ is used to denote the first person, இ and உ, the second person and அ, the third person?

It is generally said that அ denotes the remote object and இ the proximate. Where is the authority for this? It seems that no grammarian has made mention of it. Since it has been shown that இ is used to denote the first and second person, உ the second person, and அ the third person

1. அன் ஆன் அள் ஆனென்னு நான்கு, மொருவர் மருங்கிற் படர்க்கைச் சொல்லே.

2. னஃகா னெற்றே யாடுஉ வறிசொல், ளஃகா னெற்றே மகடுஉ வறிசொல்.

3. இர் ஈர் மின்னென வருஉ மூன்றும், பல்லோர் மருங்கினும் பலவற்று மருங்கினுஞ், சொல்லோரனைய வென்வனார் புலவர்.

4. ரஃகானெற்றும் பகரவிறுதியு, மாராக்கிளவியுள்ப்பட மூன்று, நேரத் தோன்றும் பலரறிசொல்லே.

and since the person spoken of is further to the speaker than the person spoken to and the person spoken to is intermediate between the speaker and the person spoken of, the use of இ, உ and அ might have been extended by analogy to denote the proximate, intermediate and remote objects respectively. (cf. இவன், உவன் and அவன்).

From these points I hope we can safely infer that cuttēluttu need not always stand at the beginning of a word and so the expression 'மொழி முதல்' is not at all necessary in the definition. Hence the definition 'அ இ உ அம்முன் றுஞ்சட்டு' as given by Tolkāppiyānār seems to be the accurate one.

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## INFERENCE IN INDIAN LOGIC

By

A. S. KRISHNA RAO, (B.A., HONS.).

*Research Student, University of Madras.*

In a previous article, (pp. 77 to 86—Vol. I pt. I), an attempt was made to show how the conception of invariable concomitance as the essence of inference does not seem to have been “introduced” into Indian Philosophy by either Diñnāga or Praśastapāda and how even the earliest extant literature on the subject—the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras of Kaṇāda, clearly presuppose this doctrine. That at this stage, and even in Vātsyāyana, inference is not based only on similarity, has been amply proved in the article referred to and the same would become clearer as we proceed to trace the doctrine historically from the crude beginnings in Kaṇāda to the subtlest possible discussions of the theory in the famous works of later dialecticians. It is a matter of common experience that ideas tacitly assumed as commonplace by some pioneers are explained, illustrated and set forth in more precise language by their followers, sometimes prompted by the growing desire for precision in matters of technique, but invariably as a reply to critics of opposite schools. The treatment accorded to the conception of *vyāpti* was no exception to this general method.

Kaṇāda, the earliest known systematiser of the Vaiśeṣika doctrines, believes that all knowledge could be accounted for by a reference to two valid sources—preception and inference. Śabda is expressly stated as a form of inference. Some of the modern commentators try to interpret the section as trying to bring Upamāna, Arthāpatti, and Sambhava also under inference, though the sūtra on which this explanation is based

अस्येदमिति-बुद्ध्यपेक्षितत्वात्. IX—ii—5

by itself could be easily explained otherwise. This may possibly enable us to think of this as a period in the history of Indian thought when only these three *pramāṇas* (*pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *Śabda*) were recognised and subtler sub-divisions were to be introduced only later. But, for our present purpose, it is enough if we note that the field of inference was sufficiently

wide, comprising, as it did, all sources of knowledge other than perception. The definition of inference had to include all these ; and Vaiśeṣika Sūtra IX—ii—1 enumerates a number of real relations as the basis of inference. This in the opinion of Dr. Keith is a strong argument to prove that there is no influence of the idea of invariable concomitance in the process of inference in the sūtras of the Vaiśeṣika system. A careful study of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras, however, seems to suggest something different. How are we to explain Vaiśeṣika Sūtra

प्रसिद्धिपूर्वकत्वादपदेशस्य III—i—14

otherwise than by interpreting प्रसिद्धि to mean some relation that has been universally perceived and acknowledged? A *hetu* is valid only when previous experience has shown that it is always co-existent with the object to be inferred, present in all places where the object is present and nowhere where the object is not. If this is to be the interpretation of the word प्रसिद्धि, what is to become of the Sūtras

संयोगि, समवायि, एकार्थसमवायि विरोधि च । III—i—9

अस्येदं कार्यं कारणं संयोगि विरोधि समवायि चेत् ङैङ्गिकम् । IX—ii—1

Do they not seem to indicate the difficulty that was perhaps first felt to understand the real nature of logical reasoning even when the formal process was already recognised? No, if we believe in the interpretation of the word प्रसिद्धि given above ; and this would be clearer if we examine the two sūtras a bit more closely. Kaṇāda is trying to infer the existence of Ātman. The various organs of sense, presuppose the existence of one supreme soul guiding them all. This view is sought to be refuted by a school of logicians who recognise only तादात्म्य and तदुत्पत्ति as the basis of inference.

अन्यदेव हेतुरित्यनपदेशः ॥ III—i—7

अर्थान्तरं हि अर्थान्तरस्य अनपदेशः ॥ III—i—8

How could the various organs lead to a correct inference of Ātman since they are not associated with it by either of the two relations तादात्म्य or तदुत्पत्ति which alone determine valid inference? In attempting to answer this question it is not enough to say simply that "Invariable association is the deciding factor". Kaṇāda naturally explains how objects not standing to each other in the relation of तादात्म्य and तदुत्पत्ति could still lead to a valid

inference of each other, provided however, the relation is constant, and crowns this section by asserting the validity of all these *hetus* inasmuch as their प्रसिद्धि has already been tested.

Our position is strengthened by the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra—

अस्येदं कार्यकारणसम्बन्धश्चावयवाद्भवति । XI—ii—2

In the sūtra IX—ii—1, we have a number of relations referred to. No one could dispute the authority of Praśastapāda's interpretation of the sūtra,

अस्येदमिति सूत्रे कार्यादीनां उपादानं निदर्शनार्थं कृतं, नावधारणार्थम् ।

All kinds of inference are explained by अस्येदमिति. The Nyāya Kandali quotes this sūtra in full and explains how there is no contradiction between Kaṇāda's definition of inference and Praśastapāda's.

An instance may further be pointed out to show how Kaṇāda is anxious to deny the rank of *hetu* to things not invariably connected but only temporarily. He draws a clear distinction between स्वाभाविकगुण and औपाधिकगुण and only the former inseparably associated with their objects would serve as distinguishing marks. From this it is but a short step to recognise only invariably connected objects as leading to valid inference.

Though the conception of vyāpti as the basis of inference thus seems to have been so well known in Kaṇāda's time, we have to admit that it has not been clearly enunciated. The regular process of inference has nowhere been illustrated as in later treatises. We do not also meet with any of the words प्रतिज्ञा etc., except, of course, अवयव used in V. S. IX—ii—2 but in a sense different from that recognised in later works. The real explanation seems to be not that Kaṇāda was ignorant of these categories but that his system being more ontological and ethical, it had no room for a special and detailed treatment of topics more justly belonging to epistemology; or perhaps the tendency to syncretism in the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems revealed as early as Vātsyāyana by which deficiencies in the one school were to be supplemented by the other, could be traced even to Kaṇāda's days.

Kaṇāda refers also to three kinds of fallacies. The three sub-divisions of inference शेषवत्, पूर्ववत् and सामान्यतोदृष्ट also seem to have been known to him. He actually uses the first in inferring the determining mark of Ākāśa (V. S. II—i—27). Some modern commentators fancy that we have here a reference to the three kinds अन्वय, व्यतिरेक and अन्वयव्यतिरेक but this



seems to be too unhistorical an explanation to be reasonably suggested.

The Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda represents a great advance over the Sūtras of Kaṇāda in all respects. We may even say that only here we have a scientific treatment of the doctrine of Vaiśeṣika philosophy. All that is thrown into a pell-mell confusion in the sūtras is neatly analysed and grouped under various headings. In a country like India seething with intellectual life, no system of philosophy can long remain purely ontological or ethical and it is a peculiar feature of Indian philosophy that every system should devote considerable space to the treatment of pramāṇas or valid sources of knowledge, even when a regular system of philosophy—the Nyāya system—is specially devoted to it. Even so early as Praśastapāda's days in the history of thought, this tendency is visible in him, and he discusses the pramāṇas at some length, though, of course, these are treated under the quality—cognition. By this time, *Upamāna*, *Arthāpatti*, *Samhava* and *Aitiḥya* also seen to have risen to the rank of pramāṇas in some schools. Praśastapāda clearly refers to all these and brings them under *Anumāna*.

It is in the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda that we have the earliest elucidation of the conception of Vyāpti.

अनुमेयेन सम्बद्धं प्रसिद्धं च तदन्विते ।

तदभावे च नास्त्येव तल्लिङ्गमनुमापकम् ॥

Pr. Bh. p. 200.

Three conditions are laid down which must be satisfied by every valid reason. "The middle term must be connected with the major, present in similar cases and absent in dissimilar cases." We had already occasion to see how no trace of Buddhist influence could be suggested here. Though some principle of invariable concomitance is referred to here, the definition itself as we shall soon see, was far from perfect. Various amendments were to be made before it could claim scientific precision. But it has its importance as the enunciation of a general principle underlying the various relations referred to by Kaṇāda.

Śrīdhara, in his Nyāya-Kandalī clearly explains the process of inference. How do we arrive at the conception of invariable relation whatever that may consist in? How can we connect this with the past and the future? A distinction to be introduced later—one between लिङ्गज्ञान and ज्ञातलिङ्ग as a valid *hetu*—is clearly foreshadowed, as well as a kind of transcendental

perception—सामान्यलक्षणाप्रत्यासत्ति. Śrīdhara clearly lays down that a large number of instances are carefully observed where fire and smoke are invariably concomitant. What is perceived is a concomitance of the generality of smoke with the generality of fire. Generality being eternal inference is possible in all cases and what is inferred is only 'fire in general and not any particular fire'. With this important contribution of Śrīdhara, the principles involved in an inferential process are all clearly formulated. The attention of the reader may, with advantage, be drawn to the following passages in the Nyāya-Kandali.

धूमसामान्यस्य अग्निसामान्येन स्वभावमात्राधीनं सहभावं निश्चित्य इदमनेन नियतं  
इति नियमं निश्चिनोति ॥

p. 209. l. 21

.....एतेन प्रत्यक्षे उपलब्धविद्यमानविषयत्वात् अतीतानागतासु व्यक्तिषु कथं नियमग्र-  
हणमिति प्रत्युक्तम् । न हि विशेषनिष्ठं व्याप्तिग्रहणं आचक्ष्महे विशेषहान्या । सामान्येन  
व्याप्तिग्रहणे तु सर्वत्रैव निर्विशङ्कः प्रत्ययः, तस्य सर्वत्र एकरूपत्वात् ..... ।

अत एव धूमसंवित्स्या वह्निमात्रमेव अनुसन्दधानः तमनुधावति न विशेषमाद्रियते ॥

p. 209. l. 26.

## PĀṆINI AND YĀSKA—A REJOINDER.

By

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM B.A. (HONS.)

In the Jijñāsā (Enquiry) Vol. I. Part. III Pp. I—6 Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī B.A., tries to refute our arguments regarding the anteriority of Pāṇini to Yāska published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras Vol I. Pt. II.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī for drawing our attention to the fact that another scholar tried many years ago to prove the anteriority of Pāṇini to Yāska. It is submitted that our ignorance of Nirukta-locanam, and not Niruktasamālocanā, (where such an attempt is made) by Brahmaśrī Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, whom Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī makes Śāmasāstrī, is mostly due to the fact that scholars like our friend have not yet chosen to controvert the arguments of Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī.

In refuting one of our arguments Mr. K. Chakravartī says :—" In the Nirukta there is a sentence of which the sentence तदिदं विद्यास्थानं etc. forms the sequel—नामान्याख्यातानीति शाकटायननैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाण्याख्यातानीति गार्ग्यवैयाकरणानां चैके ॥ which represents Śākaṭāyana as a Grammarian i.e. a maker of grammar. The name of Pāṇini is not to be found in the Nirukta."

We have at first to note that the sentence seems to have a different reading as printed in the Venkateswar Steam Press. It runs thus :—

नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चैके ॥

We would leave it for our readers to imagine the absurdity that would result in meaning, in having नामान्याख्यातानीति instead of नामान्याख्यातजानीति. The other mistakes could be sheltered under the printer's devil. The above sentence is taken to represent Śākaṭāyana as a 'maker of grammar.' We have at once to confess our inability to discover anything in the sentence that would represent Śākaṭāyana as a 'maker of grammar.' In this connection we are very sorry to note that we have no edition of the commentary by 'Gargācārya,' and we have to request Mr. K. Chakravartī to quote chapter and verse in support of his statements. In the commentary

of Durgācārya published in the Venkateswar Steam Press Edition of the Nirukta there is no reference to Pāṇini by name at all in this connection.

In refuting our argument relating to the sūtra परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता he says :—"It is a custom with the author of the Nirukta to mention the name of the author whose view he quotes. But in reference to the sūtra परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता which occurs in the Nirukta also the author makes no mention of the source from which it is taken. Had he borrowed the sūtra from Pāṇini, he would not have been so careless as to fail to mention his name. On the other hand it is extremely probable that Pāṇini borrowed the Sūtra from the Nirukta."

A careful study of the Aṣṭādhyāyī would show that Pāṇini uses many technical terms, some of which he defines and some he does not. With regard to the first, it should be that they were not in use before him or that they were not known before Pāṇini in the sense in which he was using them ; and with regard to the second, it could be definitely inferred that they were in use before him in the sense in which he was using them. In so far as Pāṇini took the trouble of defining certain terms, would it be too much to suppose that he should have been the inventor of those terms at least in the sense in which he used them ? And it should be particularly true in the present instance because of the fact that this definition of the term संहिता is quoted, but not adopted by the author of the Nirukta. Further, if we take into consideration along with this the fact that the author of the Nirukta uses the term उपधा in the sense in which Pāṇini defined it in his Aṣṭādhyāyī, and does not give his own definition of the term, it could conclusively be proved that the author of the Nirukta should have borrowed from the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Proceeding next, Mr. K. Chakravartī says that the term उपधा is taken from the grammar of Śākaṭāyana by the author of the Nirukta. In the absence of any corroborative evidence in support of the above statement, we have to express our regret for not being gifted with any clairvoyant vision to find in the grammar of Śākaṭāyana the source of this term.

His refutation of Pāṇini's priority to the Atharva Veda and the Upaniṣads is based upon his view of the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Gaṇapāṭha. It has to be pointed out that in the world of scholars, who profess to know something of Vyākaraṇa, the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Gaṇapāṭha is not a settled fact so as to form the basis of any theory. And Pāṇini's authorship of

the Gaṇapāṭha is expressly negated by Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Kāśikāvivaranaṇapañcikā, a commentary on the Kāśikā Vṛtti, on page 901, Vol I, in the following words—अपाणिनीयत्वाद्गणस्य ॥

Coming next to his refutation of the argument that Brāhmaṇas did not form part of the Veda in the time of Pāṇini, we confess our utter inability to follow the logic of his arguments. He says :—" If in Pāṇini's time the Brāhmaṇas were not regarded as forming part of the Veda, then the Veda in his time must have comprised only of the Mantras. This is tantamount to recognising the identity of the Mantras with the Chandas. \* \* \* Hence the recognition of the identity between मन्त्र and छन्दस् is proved to be unjustifiable. So मन्त्र is not only different from छन्दस् but means something more than that. It includes ब्राह्मण."

If at all the above arguments could be taken to prove anything, it may be that the Chandas of Pāṇini did not form part of the Veda, and it requires an advanced kind of logic to conclude that Mantra included Brāhmaṇa.

The next argument that is refuted is with regard to the significance of the derivation of the word वाच्यार्थयणिः by the Vārtikakāra, while Pāṇini does not provide for such a derivation. Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī says :—" There is a Vārtika छागवृषयोरपि attached to the Sūtra कौशल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च (IV-i-155) by which the derivation वाच्यार्थयणः may be obtained. It has been clearly stated in the Mahābhāṣya that the particle च in the Sūtra कौशल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च suggests the inclusion of the words छाग and वृष also. So the Vārtika is useless."

In the two editions of the Mahābhāṣya we have access to, that of the Benares Edition, and that of the Bombay Sanskrit Series, we do not find the Vārtika छागवृषयोरपि attached to the Sūtra (IV-i-155,) as above stated. Further, in the same editions under the Sūtra concerned, we do not find the Bhāṣyakāra hinting that the Vārtika is useless because of the presence of the particle च. But we rather find him saying thus with regard to the significance of the particle च :—(Bombay Sanskrit Series Vol. II. Page 263, and Benares Edition, IV Adhyāya. Page 92).

चेन संनियोगः करिष्यते । युद् च । किं च । यच्चान्यत्प्राप्नोति । किं चान्यत्प्राप्नोति । आदेश इति ॥

And Kaiyaṭa comments upon the above statement thus:—चेनेति । तेन युगपदागमादेशौ भवतः ॥

From the above passages it should be clear that the Bhāṣyakāra does not even hint that the Vārtika is useless because of the presence of the particle च. Thus we have to conclude that our friend Mr. K. Chakravartī should have had a different passage of the Bhāṣya before him, or he should have misinterpreted the above passage. We are sure, of course, that the first should have been the fact, in which case we shall once more request our friend to give us the exact references.

We are rather led to infer from the conclusion that the article has been conceived purposely to give vent to the feeling of displeasure at our bold plagiarism of the arguments of Brahmaśrī Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, with regard to two fundamental points, *i. e.*, तदिदं विद्यास्थानं and उपधा. Here are our remarks on the first:—"It is nothing but the echo of the innate apprehension that his work could not stand on a par with the famous Vaiyākaraṇa and it needs no saying that the first grammarian who expounded the principles of grammar as a system was no other than the sage Pāṇini." Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī wants to prove by his argument on the point (page जी of the Niruktālocanā, Bibliotheca Indica Edition of the Nirukta) that Yāska by himself saying that the study of Vyākaraṇa would not be considered complete without the study of his Nirukta, presuppose a Vyākaraṇa and this Vyākaraṇa should have been the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. And we do not at all claim any originality for proving that the Aṣṭādhyāyī had no predecessor of its kind. We simply take it for granted as a matter of course, and nothing more.

With regard to the second, he remarks:—"The argument relating to उपधा which Mr. Subrahmanyam regards as contributing to his view was also suggested by Paṇḍita Sāmaśāstrī with this difference that he did so with reference to Samhitā-Lakṣaṇa.' Our remarks with regard to the term 'upadhā' read thus:—

"The word 'upadhā' is used in the same sense as defined by Pāṇini, by the Niruktakāra." (ante. p. 189.)

And with reference to the Samhitā Lakṣaṇa Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī says (Niruktālocana page जि):—निरुक्तस्यास्य प्रथमाध्याय एव "परः संहिता"—इति पाणिनीयं संहितालक्षणमुद्धृतं दृश्यते इति प्रथमः । Here Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī only means that the Sūtra was quoted by the author of the Nirukta from



the Pāṇiniyan Aṣṭādhyāyī. We will leave it for our readers to judge how far the above remark of the Paṇḍit should have suggested our argument on 'upadhā'.

In conclusion we have of course to confess that we may well be taken to have borrowed the whole idea of proving the anteriority of Pāṇini to Yāska.

For the sake of amusement we will here quote what Śivadatta Śarmā says in his preface to the edition of the Nirukta (Śrī Venkateswar Steam Press) and will also request our readers to compare it with what our friend Mr. K. Chakravartī says with regard to his argument proving the unjustifiability of identifying Mantra with Chandas. We do not like to offer any remark ourselves. Paṇḍit Śivadatta Śarmā says :—(Page 4 Nirukta, Śrī Venkateswar Steam Press. प्रस्तावना) यदि छन्दःपदं मन्त्रपर्यायभूतं, तर्हि 'मन्त्र-श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो णिवन्' इति सूत्रे मन्त्रपदं निर्दिश्य, तदुत्तरसूत्रे 'अवे यजः' इति सूत्रेऽपि तदनुवर्त्य, मन्त्र एव प्रवृत्त्यर्थ, 'विजुपेक्षन्दसि' इति सूत्रे छन्दःपदं नैवोपाद-दीत । मन्त्रपदानुवृत्तिसम्भवेऽपि पुनश्छन्दःपदोपादानेन मन्त्रछन्दःपदयोरपर्यायत्वमेव पाणिनिसम्मतमिति निश्चयम् ॥

Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī says :—"If this is so, then the fact that Pāṇini sometimes uses the word मन्त्र and sometimes the word छन्दस् in his Sūtras, becomes inexplicable. Further, मन्त्रश्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो णिवन् (III-2-71), अवे यजः (III-2-72), विजुपेक्षन्दसि (III-2-73), these three Sūtras occur in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. The first of these three Sūtras deal (*it should be deals*), with the case of Mantras; because मन्त्रे occurs as one of the padas of which the Sūtra is composed. The second Sūtra also, owing to its connection with the pada मन्त्रे through Anuvṛtti from the first has reference to the case in which Mantra is concerned. Now, if Mantra and Chandas mean the same thing then the use of the 'pada' छन्दसि in the last of these Sūtras becomes useless; for the pada मन्त्र could also be connected with this Sūtra by anuvṛtti".

In conclusion, we beg to express our sincere feelings of admiration for the very high ideals of literary honesty preached by our friend Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī, and in anticipation, also express our feelings of gratification, if he should prove the inaccuracy of our arguments in a succinct and well-written article with the requisite references. We are not particular about anybody's anteriority and we are always prepared to revise our opinion provided we are asked to do so on irrefutable evidences.

A NOTE  
ON  
'SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKṚT PASSAGES'.  
IN THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

BY

PROF. K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A.,  
SANSKRIT COLLEGE, TRIPUNITURA.

With reference to the article on 'Some Unexplained Prākṛt Passages' by Dr. Kunhan Rājā appearing in the last issue of the Journal I may be permitted to offer a few remarks.

The author seems to make no distinction between suggested views and statements of facts and rushes to conclusions which, to say the least are apt to be felt by some as nothing short of impertinence. His remarks, about my having carried 'critical faculty too far' in suggesting that the name Svapnanāṭaka may have been given to Svapnavāsadatta to show it is an adaptation, show that he has missed the central point of my suggestion. True it is we have Śākuntala-Nāṭakam, Samvaraṇam-Nāṭakam and Cūdāmaṇi-Nāṭakam, but we have not Abhijñāna-Nāṭakam, Tapatī-Nāṭakam, and Āścarya-Nāṭakam, which alone is a parallel to Svapna-Nāṭakam. This is a rare combination and a parallel cannot be cited. Dr. Rājā's comment is, therefore, wide of the mark.

Again he refers to an 'unfortunate' argument of mine in saying 'the omission of the Nāṇḍī in the hurry of adaptation', closely following upon the expression 'clever playwright'. My unfortunate self cannot really see the force of my lucky friend's comment. Surely a clever playwright need not necessarily be well versed in all the technicalities and conventions of Sanskrit dramaturgy. Even a clever man is liable to forget conventions in his hurry; why for that matter we have the example of the clever author himself.

Coming to his categorical statement that Kerala could not have produced in that distant past an author of Bhāsa's literary merit, I believe I am within my rights to ask him what exactly his knowledge of the ancient history of Kerala is. His knowledge, as it is of others, is quite blank. There is indeed nothing inherently impossible in our land producing a Bhāsa—a land which has produced a Prabhākara, a Śaṅkara and a host of other distinguished poets and dramatists; such statements, coming from scholars whose

position entitles respect for their views are as unfortunate as they are misleading.

The learned author devotes one full page to explain his interpretation of Kṛiḍā against the views of Mr. S. K. Śāstrī, my esteemed Professor. The explanation offered by Prof. Śāstrī is perfectly satisfactory, as his always are. It is inconceivable what further explanation Dr. Rājā can give. He cannot really base any argument on its usage in Malayāḷam, where it means only 'play'. If by this term the Doctor understands 'Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra, his reference to Sv. Act V is particularly unhappy. There Udayana goes to meet Padmāvatī, who has been suffering from headache—a very inopportune moment to conceive of Kṛiḍā in this sense; and further the poet describes 'Vipralambha'. If the term may be taken as referring to Vipralambha, there is indeed some justification possible, but unfortunately we cannot assign these senses to the word. In the ordinary sense it may refer to the Sv. Act II; but the 'Ball-play' described here is not the pivotal incident of the drama. If I may be excused the use of a śleṣa, I may say that Kṛiḍā may be connected with Sv. in the sense that it is a 'play'.

Abhinavagupta's reference clearly shows that there is a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta which is Kṛiḍā-pradhāna. Tīkāsarvasvakāra refers to a Sv. wherein Vāsavadattā's marriage is described. Śāradātanaya refers to a Sv. describing the marriage of Padmāvatī and this work has much resemblance to the printed text. It is not conceivable how the same drama could describe two different Vivāhas<sup>1</sup>, how the same drama could have two different pivotal incidents, nor again how the same drama could be both Artha śṛṅgāra and Kāma śṛṅgāra. These have to be explained, if Dr. Rājā maintains there is only one Sv. I hope he will elucidate this point also in his promised note and suggest a feasible way of accommodating these differences.

The author's references to M. M. G. Śāstrī are, to say the least, very uncharitable; simply because he has committed a few mistakes or has propounded a theory which cannot stand a crucial test, his whole work in the field of Sanskrit literature cannot be condemned. He has rendered signal service to the cause of oriental scholarship. It must be conceded that he is perfectly entitled to have his own opinion, as we can have ours, on the Bhāsa question. Especially now that Dr. Śāstrī is no more, Dr. Rājā's remarks come with ill-becoming grace.

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<sup>1</sup> My view of this in the light of the explanation so kindly given by Prof. S. K. Śāstrī I hope to be able to set forth on another occasion. K. R. P.

A NOTE  
ON  
THE CĀRVĀKA SYSTEM.

By

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.,

LIBRARIAN, ADYAR MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY.

The traditional author of this system of thought is Bṛhaspati. A set of verses beginning with

न खर्गो नापवर्गो वा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः ।

नैव वर्णाश्रमादीनां क्रियाश्च फलदायकाः ॥

is attributed to Bṛhaspati, the founder of that system by certain writers like Mādhavārya, the author of the Sarvadarśanasamgraha. To the same writer are attributed some sūtras also about this system. The following two references are worthy of note.

तथा बार्हस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि :—

पृथिव्यप्तेजोवायुरिति तत्त्वानि ।

तत्समुदाये शरीरेन्द्रियविषयसंज्ञा ।

तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम् ।

किष्वादिभ्यो मदशक्तिवद्विज्ञानम् ।

The above reference is from Bhāskara's Bhāṣya on the Brahma Sūtras <sup>1</sup>. It is well known that this Bhāskara is older than 841 A. D. for, Vācaspati who was living in the latter year criticises in more than 30 places in his Bhāmātī, the views of Bhāskara. It is also clear that this Bhāskara is later than Śaṅkarācārya.

An older writer refers to the same sūtras with a slight difference in the reading : Kamalaśīla, the pupil of Śāntarakṣita in his commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha of his master makes the following remarks :—

तथा हि—तस्यैतत्सूत्रम् :—

परलोकिनोऽभावात्परलोकाभाव इति ।

पृथिव्यापस्तेजोवायुरिति चत्वारि तत्त्वानि ।

तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम् । इति

\* \* \* \* \*

तथा च तेषां सूत्रम् ।

तत्समुदाये विषयेन्द्रियसंज्ञा ॥<sup>1</sup>

From these references it is clear that Bṛhaspati wrote a set of sūtras on materialism, apart from the verses which are attributed to him. Śāntarakṣita's date is fairly certain; he belongs to the eighth century of the Christian Era. Bṛhaspati must be older.

There seem to have been two different commentators on the Bṛhaspati sūtras prior to Śāntarakṣita. This point is made clear by this statement of Kamalaśīla (*i.e.*).

तथा हि—पृथिव्यापस्तेजोवायुरिति चत्वारि तत्त्वानि । तेभ्यश्चैतन्यमिति । तत्र केचिद्वृत्तिकारा व्याचक्षते—उत्पद्यते तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम् । अन्ये अभिव्यज्यत इत्याहुः ॥<sup>2</sup>

It is not wrong to conclude from this that prior to the eighth century of the Christian Era the sūtras were so old as to allow time for two commentators. The verses quoted Madhavārya were extracted from some metrical rendering of the old Bārhaspatya-sūtras, which was made perhaps by one of the old Bārhaspatya commentators referred to.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY BY S. RADHAKRISHNAN—*King George V.  
Professor of Philosophy, University of Calcutta—Volume II.*

[Demy 8vo, pages 797]—Library of Philosophy—[25 s. net.]

Printed and Published by George Allen and Unwin  
Ltd. London.

*Reviewed by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati  
Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri M.A., I.E.S. Madras.*

In form and substance, in expository brilliance and estimative tact, and in textual correlations and technical elucidations, the second volume of Professor S. Radhakrishnan's Indian Philosophy, which deals with the six Brahmanical systems, surpasses the previous volume to a large extent, though intended by the author to be but its appropriate and necessary sequel. In this admirably written book, with a remarkable measure of success, he compresses into a lucid and interesting account, a bewildering host of details pertaining to the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Vedānta systems of philosophy and has certainly redeemed them from the wearying boredom of many an English rendering by many an unphilosophical and unimaginative expositor. This is a work of gripping and living interest, presenting the course of Indian philosophical thought in the six Brahmanical systems as a perennial stream of progressive sweetness and exhibiting the makers of these systems not as so many embalmed corpses but as living embodiments of philosophical insight and continually suggestive forces of well-regulated reason. Professor Radhakrishnan rightly sets up before himself *Vācaspatimīśra* as the model of true philosophical spirit and with the inspiration that could be derived from such a model, proceeds to interpret and evaluate the ancient philosophers of India at their best and to correlate them with the live issues of contemporary thought. Some of the foreign reviewers of this work disapprove of this procedure and suggest that Professor Radhakrishnan has attempted to read into the crude phases of Indian philosophical systems several developments of modern thought, of which the traditional exponents of those systems were completely innocent. It may be unhesitatingly stated that such foreign reviewers have, in this kind of criticism, betrayed their scant appreciation of the philosophical



calibre of Professor Radhakrishnan as a typical Indian in whose mentality some of the best features of Indian philosophy have found an abiding place of nurture and likewise of the ancient philosophers of India. Those who have a good knowledge of Sanskrit philosophical texts and western methods of thought and criticism cannot fail to be impressed with the earnest effort made throughout this volume, to combine fidelity to original sources with intelligent interpretation and criticism.

One of the most attractive features of this admirable book is the inimitably telling way in which certain technical theories are elucidated, fundamental doctrines are set forth and the rich suggestiveness of such theories and doctrines is rendered intelligible. By way of illustration, one may refer to the extract from Henry IV at page 92 in connection with the elucidation of the Naiyāyika theory of *anyathāsiddhi*. It may likewise be of interest to note how beautifully Professor S. Radhakrishnan sounds a suggestive note of warning to such students of modern philosophy as might have developed a mentality which may be easily likened to a butterfly, or a grasshopper or a cricketer and as might hastily deprecate what, to imperfect understanding, would seem a dogmatic or *āgama-ridden* tone in the Brahmanical systems of philosophy. In appreciating the force of this remark, it would be useful to refer to the extract from Goethe given at the footnote of page 21 and Professor S. Radhakrishnan's remarks in several places about the true significance of the nature of the Vedic sanction behind the *āstika* systems of philosophy.

The best part of this volume is the VIII Chapter on Sankara's Advaita Vedanta. The brilliant exposition of the chief features of advaitism in this chapter is supported by abundant extracts from standard works on Advaita and care is taken to see that such extracts do not serve as a drag and mar the general interest. The treatment of the philosophy of Mīmāṃsā is in several respects imperfect and it is not intelligently correlated with other philosophical systems in the manner in which such correlation is called for. The philosophical side of Madhvācārya's system is very inadequately treated and the meagre statement of Madhvācārya's theory of error and truth is misleading and perfunctory. It is rather unfortunate that such an admirable and beautiful work happens to be disfigured in several places by bad mistakes arising from a defective control over the textual matter in Sanskrit philosophical works. For instance, those who have acquired a specialistic proficiency in the traditional texts of the Śāstras would certainly be disconcerted by the mistranslation of *saṁtiṣṭhate* in line 3

of page 26, by the hopeless confusion of ideas in the note on *avacchedaka* at page 124, by the absurd illustration of *definition by genus and difference* given in note (1) at the foot of page 48, by the reproduction of certain mistakes appearing in the section dealing with *alaukikapratyakṣa* in Dr. Keith's 'Atomism and Indian logic' and by such other defects. In a big and difficult work like the volume under review, defects such as those described, however serious they may be when considered by themselves, ought not to prevent impartial critics from duly appreciating the outstanding merits of its main aspects. The distinguished Professor, with a commendable grasp of the fundamentals of Indian philosophical systems, has in this volume given a brilliant and generally correct account of the six Brahmanical systems, and if there are several defects in this account, more especially on its technical side, it is the privilege of constructive critics to hope that this edition will soon be replaced by a revised edition free from such defects. We have no doubt that such a revised edition will prove to be a standing monument of Professor S. Radhakrishnan's remarkable gifts and attainments and will deservedly occupy the rank of a philosophical classic, which it already bids fair to win as much through its inherent worth as through the international reputation of its eminent author.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MALAYALAM PHONETICS BY. L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER, M. A., ERNAKULAM, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1925.

This is a small leaflet of 30 pages, being a number of one the Calcutta University Phonetics series; and it forms the result of the labours of a real enthusiast to investigate a problem which is of great importance to all students of the Science of Language. Malayalam was perhaps originally a mere dialect of Tamil. But the original dialect came under the influence of not only the Sanskrit speaking Aryans, but also of the Arab and Syrian merchants. The field of investigation being very large, we have no right to expect a thorough treatment of the sounds in this dialect modified by diverse influences. We must also recognise that the author has certain disadvantages. He is not a real Malayali; he is a descendant of the Tamil settlers in Malabar, who do not speak correct Malayalam and cannot detect the niceties in pronunciation. There are not many in the field whom he can consult and whose opinions he can use for comparisons and corrections. The leaflet is published under the auspices of the Calcutta University, where there is no adequate provision for Malayalam studies. From the preface, it appears that the author has not received any help or suggestion from a Malayali. The present reviewer is under an equally

great disadvantage in that he speaks Malayalam with a particular accent and intonation which the author may not recognise as the standard that he has chosen. The author chooses Cochin State as the seat of standard Malayalam (p. 1) People of Valluvanad in south Malabar have the same boast and Calicut people hold out a similar claim. It is the eternal boast of Travancore people that they alone know correct Malayalam. Even in Cochin State, dialects differ with castes and even with families. The question and answer :

Q. [Pārvati ippol varikayāno ?] (*Is Parvati come just now ;*)

A. [Patt<sup>ə</sup> nālapat<sup>ə</sup> divasam āyi] (*It is ten or forty days*);

When spoken by members of certain families will be heard as :

Q. [Vartapperia ?] (literally—*Is it fried bananas ?*)

A. [Pālapāyasāyi] (literally—*It has become milk pudding*)

This is a standing joke in Malabar.

When there is such diversity of dialect, it will be unjust on the part of a reviewer to criticise minor points. Still certain slight inaccuracies and lapses must be pointed out. *n* is the nasal of *t* series and *ṇ* of *ṭ* series in Malayalam. Malayalis pronounce the nasal of *t* series as *n*, unlike people of other parts of India (of pp. 2 and 3, 14 and 15) [vālapalam] is wrong [p] ought to be doubled (p. 3) There is no *ṭ* sound either in Sanskrit or Malayalam (p. 3) *maṇipravālam* is not "an incongruous jumble of Malayalam roots and Sanskrit endings". It is a mixture of Malayalam with Sanskrit words bearing Sanskrit endings. Affixing Sanskrit endings to Malayalam roots was a parody for the sake of fun (p. 4). No Malayali pronounces [povonom,] but only [pavanan.] It is a Sanskrit word which never appears in colloquial language and hence undergoes no vowel corruption (p. 6). There is no name of a giant like [bh<sup>ə</sup>k<sup>ə</sup>n] or [bh<sup>ə</sup>g<sup>ə</sup>n] (p. 11) [vātil] [palpa] and [viśārikkuka] are not Malayalam pronunciations ; perhaps Tamil settlers pronounce so. (p. 13) [Vaṇṇu] and [āminiāvutṭ<sup>ə</sup>m] are also examples of Malayalam spoken by Tamil settlers (usually called *Paṭṭarmalayālam* (p. 15) [anti] is not a "colloquial of the illiterate class". It is a pure Malayalam, being an early adaptation from Sanskrit, when sound corruptions were greater; words adopted from another language undergo greater corruption of sounds at earlier stages than at later stages (p. 16) [vālepp<sup>ə</sup>l<sup>ə</sup>m] is another instance of *Paṭṭarmalayālam* (p. 17). The author does not seem to know the derivative meaning of [Veṇṇīr] (p. 18). [Vera] is not a *line*, but *worms*; no one pronounces so, but only [vara] (p. 18). No educated Malayali says [gurutvam] and [viḍḍhitvam]. This is missionary Malayalam—usually called *Pādrimayālam* (p. 18). The author gives [nei] (*ghee*) as an instance of diphthong (p. 18) and also [neɪ] (*ghee*) as an instance of a word in [y] (p. 7).

Following the *sūcikaṭāhanyāya*, I come now to bigger things. The rule given in section (ii) under number (3) on p. 8 is not complete. It does not explain words like [cekarə] (*wing*) instead of [cikarə]; [tekayunnu] instead of [tikayunnu] (*completes*); [veṣam] instead of [viṣam] (*poison*).

Words ending in broken consonants (*cillukal* in Malayalam) are literary. In spoken language a vowel is uniformly added at the end except after (n) and [l] under certain conditions (p. 7). The author does not seem to make the difference clear and this peculiarity of [n] and [l] is also not noted by him.

The palatal value of [k] has nothing to do with a neighbouring palatal (within a Malayalam word). The author does not make the point clear, [K] is palatal in [pāvakka] (*a fruit*) though there is no palatal element in the word, and after [i,] [k] is not palatal in [cikkunnu] (*he scatters*). This palatalisation affects [ṇ] also, Cf [iṇṇu] and [mattaṇṇa]. In the former (ṇ) is not palatal, in the latter it is (p. 11 and 14). This palatalisation rules is rule complex and the author does not seem to have analysed the examples sufficiently to draw the general rules.

Change of [t] and [d] into [l] and of [ṭ] and [ḍ] into [ḷ] is very common in Malayalam. The author does not give the rule correctly. His rule does not cover cases like talkālam (Sanskrit *tatkāla*), [tālparyam] (Sanskrit *tātparya*). He gives no rule in the case of [ṭ] and [ḍ] (pp. 12 and 13).

Never does "confusion arise" between the sounds [n] and [ṇ] except for foreigners. The rule is very definite. The author makes a confusion of the whole point. (pp. 14 and 15).

[m] interchanges with [v] in other places than intervocal. Cf [vaṇṇān] and [maṇṇān]; vānam and imānam.

The interchange of [r] and [ṛ] (pp. 16 and 17) is another sphynx for a foreigner especially for the Tamil settlers in Malabar. They always pronounce [nāraṇṇākkari] as [nāraṇṇākkari] (*lemon pickles*). The author gives rules which are inadequate and occasionally wrong. No Malayali pronounces [ghrāṇam], but only as [ghrāṇam] (p. 16). The problem is a greater riddle to a Tamil settler than the problem of *shall* and *will* is to a Scotchman.

The author does not clearly give the rule regarding the doubling of the initial consonant in the latter member of a compound. It has a very important bearing on Malayalam phonetics and is one of the chief features that distinguish Malayalam from Sanskrit. This is a point that has influenced Malayalam grammar to a great extent and it has even affected Sanskrit (cf. p. 21).

The author says that [ṇ] does not call for any special remark. The sound does not occur initially. Is it not an important thing in a book on phonetics? (p. 14).

I have pointed above certain aspects of the question of Malayalam phonetics where there is room for further investigation and revision. The book is the first attempt and as such, we cannot expect a thorough presentation of the case. It must be said that the book forms a real basis for further research in the field. It is a bold enterprise of the author and the author has succeeded well, considering the position impartially. Universities and other organisations engaged in scholarly pursuits must encourage such adventurers and help them to tread the right path in the unexplored wilderness.

Kj.

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PRASNAMARGA. XIV AND 327 EDITED BY P. NILAKANTHA ŚARMA  
AND PUBLISHED BY R. SUBRAHMANYA VADHYAR, PALGHAT.

This is a work on astrology and it deals with praśna and jātaka portions of Astrology. The volume under review forms the first part and contains adhyāyas one to sixteen. The editor, Mr. Punnaśeri Nilakaṇṭha Nambi, Principal, Central Sanskrit College, Pattambi adds explanatory footnotes wherever necessary. The work is neatly printed and well got up.

T. R. Chintāmaṇi.

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NAISADHA. CANTOS 6-12. EDITED WITH THE COMMENTARY OF  
MALLINATHA.

Mr. Subrahmaṇya Vādhyaṛ published a few years ago the first six cantos of the Naiṣadha with the commentary of Mallinātha. The second part is now issued and it contains cantos 6-12. Though the edition professes to be a critical one, we are sorry to note, it is not. The editor wrongly attributes to Mallinātha want of proficiency in grammar, which, to say the least, is presumptuous. The author of the work is not King Śrī Harṣa as is sought to be made out in the introduction, but only Śrī Harṣa. The printing is good.

T. R. Chintāmaṇi.

## NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

### THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

July, 1927.

"*The Meaning and Etymology of Pūjā*" By Prof. Carl Charpentier.—Two more sections appear on this subject. The author tries to strengthen his derivation of *pūjā* from the Dravidian *pūcu* (smear) and shows that in ancient India the main form of worship was by smearing the form of the God with various pastes.

*Vedic Studies.* By A. Venkatasubbiyah, M. A., Ph. D.

He takes the word *phaliga* for consideration and tries to relate the word with *sphaṭika* and argues that the form *phaliga* is the result of some Prākṛtic influence.

August, 1927.

"*Date of Bhāskara Ravi Varman*" By K. G. Sankar, B.A. B.L.—After discussing the dates assigned to Bhāskara Ravi Varman, King of Travancore, the author of this paper comes to the conclusion that he should have flourished between 1073 A. D. and 1131 A.D.

"*The interpretation of the Upaniṣads*" By Umescandra Bhattācārya M.A., B.L.—The article is continued from the previous numbers. The author arrives at the conclusion that to distinguish the philosophy of the Upaniṣads from that of the Vedāntasūtras is meaningless. For any philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the nucleus is to be found in the sūtras.

September, 1927.

Sir George A. Grierson, K. C. I. E.—In a supplement edits (in Roman characters) the Śaurasenī and Māgadhi Stabakas of Rāma Śarman (Tarkavāgiśa) with six plates.

### INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

September, 1927.

*Jaina References in the Dhammapada*, by M. Govinda Pai.—The author of this paper tries to prove that Buddhism, the *arhanta vagga* of the Dhammapada is a clear indication of that fact. The word *arhant* is used only in the sense of Jaina and not Buddhist. At least two *Tīrthaṅkaras* (i.e. Ṛṣabha and Vīra) should be regarded to be older than the Dhammapada.

*Development of Buddhist art in South India III* By Devaprasad Ghosh.—In this part, the author deals with Buddhistic sculptures at Amarāvati, and Jaggayapetta. After describing in detail the famous



sculptures of these two places the author shows how there is an individuality in the sculptures of the South, though at the same time its connection with the North is kept up.

*Authorship of the Nighaṇṭu* By *Chamupati*.—The author discusses in this paper the authorship of the Nighaṇṭu collections which have been commented upon by Yāska. He declares with Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, whom he quotes, that Yāska himself is the author of that collection; the author severely criticises Satyavrata Sāmāśrami who differs from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

*Ancient Tamils and the Nāgas*, By *C. S. Srinivasachari M. A.*—The author discusses in this paper the origin of the Nāgas; their connection with the south of India: their connection with serpents; their civilization; their fusion with the Dravidians and so on. Then the author speaks of ancient Nāga Kingdoms in Jafna, north Ceylon and other places, and the final submerging of those kingdoms.

*Mauryan Art*, By *Achyuta Kumār Mitra*.—The various forms of Mauryan Architecture and Sculpture are well discussed in this paper. The discussion relates mainly to the sculptures got in Śāranāth and those found in in the Patna Museum at present. The paper is accompanied with six illustration.

*Indian Literature Abroad*, VIII, By *Probhat Kumār Mukherjee*.—This is a continuation, being the eighth instalment of a series of articles. The author gives here another list of Indian works which are preserved in translations in foreign countries. The article will continue.

*Kumārila and Diñnāga*, By *H. R. Raṅgaswāmi Aiyangar*.—The author states in this paper that most of the anti-Buddhistic arguments of Kumārila are directed against, mainly, Diñnāga. The author of the Nyāyaratnākara quotes a large number of passages in this connection and most of them agree with the Tibetan version of the Pramāṇasamuccaya.

*Max Müller's Introduction to the Rgveda-prūtiśūkhya*, By *Balakrishna Ghosh*.—The author translates from German Max Müller's Introduction. The translation will continue.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, October, 1924.

*Revised Text and Translation of two of The Kūram Plates*, By the *Late Dr. E. Hultzsch*.—Dr. Hultzsch re-edits these plates a second time, for the late Dr. Keilhorn had some more information about these plates. The inscription is in Sanskrit verses. The text is accompanied by a translation.

*Dhanaidaha Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Kumāragupta*, I. *The year 113*, By *Rādhāgovinda Basak*.—The author edits a valuable Copper plate Sanskrit inscription belonging to about 432-33, A. D. (*i.e.*) the period of Kumāragupta I. The author makes a few observations on the orthography and gives a translation. The inscription is important, being sufficiently old.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY, July, 1927.

*The Philosophy of Bhāskara*. By *M. L. Sirkar*.—Mr. Sirkar deals with the leading tenets of the Bhedābheda school of Bhāskara in this paper in 23 sections. Bhāskara is a realist in the full sense of the term and consequently he is not prepared to accept the doctrine of māyā so ably propounded by Śaṅkara and consequently he refutes that doctrine. The author deals with the theories of knowledge according to Bhāskara; with his conception of the absolute, infinite and finite; his conception of mokṣa and so on.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW, April, 1927.

*Poems and Plays of Bhāsa* II. By *Dr. L. Sarup*.—This article is a continuation of the one previously published. The author gives a summary of the *Dūtavākya*, *Kaṇabhāra*, *Madhyama Vyāyoga*, *Partimā*, *Pāñcarātra Pratijñā*, *Yaugandharāyaṇa*, and *Svapnavāsavadatta*. The author upholds the practically untenable theory that the famous Bhāsa is the author of all the dramas ascribed to him in T. S. S.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ĀNDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, January, 1927.

*Bhavabhūti and his Identity*, By *S. K. Rāmanātha Śastry*.—The author summarises in this paper the arguments that tend to equate Bhavabhūti with :—

- (1) Umbeka,—a pupil of Kumārila and a commentator on his *Śloka-vārtika*, a copy of which the author of this paper has discovered;
- (2) Sureśvara, the author of the *Bṛahadārṇyakabhāṣya Vārtika*;
- (3) Viśvarūpa, a commentator on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.

With regard to the identity of Bhavabhūti with Maṇḍana Miśra, he is not decided; so with regard to his identity with Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Brahmamīmāṃsa*.

*TAPASAVATSARAJA*. By *M. Ramakrishna Kavi*.—The author of this drama is known as *Mātrārāja* or *Anaṅgaharṣa*. A dramatist by name *Māyurāja*, the author of the *Udāttarāghava* is known to us. The author of this paper tries to identify the two persons and says that through some *prākṛtic* influ-

ence *mātrā* is changed into *māyu* and he adduces certain indirect argument-also. Taking the identification of *Mātrārāja* with *Māyurāja* for granted the author of this paper makes him a Kalacūri Prince and refers him to 600 A. D.

JOURNAL OF THE BEHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, June, 1927.

*Archaeological Research at Pātna* By V.H. Jackson.—The author states that some excavations carried on in Pātna for purposes of some sewage construction have resulted in the discovery of fresh fields for archaeological research. A number of things belonging to ancient Pātna like terracota etc. have been discovered. A regular watch is being kept up for the sake of new and fresh finds.

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES VO. IV Pt II.

*Sanskrit Manuscripts on Alaṅkāra*, By Dr. S. K. De.—Dr. De gives a short description of the following manuscripts found in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. They are :—

1. Udbhaṭālaṅkāra vivṛti
2. Daśarūpaka Vyākhyā
3. Camatkāracandrikā
4. Sāhitya Cūḍāmaṇi
5. Sāhitya Dīpikā
6. Kāvyaḷakṣaṇa saṅgraha
7. Śṅgāra Prakāśa
8. Bhāvaṇaprakāśa
9. Rasāraṇava
10. Rasakalpadruma

*Jānakīharāṇa XVI*.—Dr. L. D. Barnett edits in Roman characters the 16th canto of the *Jānakīharāṇa* from a palm leaf manuscript.

*Ajāmiḷamokṣa Prabandha of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa*.—Pandit V. Venkata-ramaśarma edits in Roman characters this practically unknown work of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa

IBID VO. IV PT. III.

*Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia*, By J. Kats—Mr. Kats gives the salien points in the Indonesian version of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and shows how it differs from the Indian version.

*Some Readings of Jānakīharāṇa XVI*, By S. K. De.—Dr. De here furnishes certain variant readings of the 16th canto *Jānakīharāṇa* (Published in B. S. O. S. Vol. IV Pt II). Dr. De's readings are from the manuscript of the *Jānakīharāṇa*, deposited in the G. O. Mss. Library, Madras, of which he has a transcript.

संबन्धज्ञानसापेक्षं यदुपैत्युपयोगिताम् ।  
 दूषितं व्यभिचारेण तत्स्यात्संशयकारणम् ॥ ९० ॥  
 दुष्यति व्यभिचारेण बोधकं सत्तयैव न ।  
 विज्ञानाच्चार्यसंवित्तिस्सत्तयैवेन्द्रियादिवत् ॥ ९१ ॥  
 लिङ्गस्याव्यभिचाराद्यत्पार्थ्यते रूपतोऽस्य तत् ।  
 सिद्धप्रत्ययसामर्थ्यपूर्वी नैतौ [नेतो] निमित्तताम् ॥ ९२ ॥  
 प्रामाण्ये तदभावे [चा] व्यतिरेकविपर्ययौ ।  
 तथाह्यव्यतिरेकोऽपि बोधादेवोपवर्णितः ॥ ९३ ॥  
 व्यतिरेको बो[बा]धबोधादिति तच्छक्तियुक्तता ।  
 असिद्धे ज्ञानसामर्थ्ये सोऽसिद्धो दूषकः कथम् ॥ ९४ ॥  
 सिद्धोऽपि सिद्धसामर्थ्यमसामर्थ्यं कथं नयेत् ।  
 ननु च व्यभिचारित्वे बाधकज्ञानसंततिः [मते] ॥ ९५ ॥  
 ज्ञानरूपस्य तेनैव विहन्येत प्रमाणतः [ता] ।  
 अर्थो यथा ज्ञानरूपात्तथैवेत्यवसीयते ॥ ९६ ॥  
 व्यभिचारमतेरेव न तथैवेति गम्यते ।  
 तत् सत्यं बाधकज्ञानं यत्र तत्र विहन्यते ॥ ९७ ॥  
 अन्यत्र तु विहाते [घातः] स्यान्न सा [क्षा] चापि चार्थतः ।  
 अनुमानं भवेत्तच्च तेनापहृतगोचरम् ॥ ९८ ॥  
 नोदेति जाग्रतो बुद्धिरिति भाष्ये निदर्शितम् ।  
 व्यभिचारि [र] ज्ञानमात्रात्प्रामाण्यस्य न नः क्षतिः ॥ ९९ ॥  
 व्यभिचारिणि नाश्वासः प्रमेय [त्वोर्ध्वतादिके] ।  
 गतानुगतित्वज्ञे कुतो न्यायविवेकिनः [ता] ॥ १०० ॥  
 त्रिधापि व्यभिचारेण प्रामाण्यं नोपहन्यते ।  
 उक्तानां [उक्तं ना] व्यतिरेकस्य प्रमाणत्वनिमित्तता ॥ १०१ ॥

येन स्याद्वैत्वभावेन व्यभिचारे विपर्ययः ।

धूमादीनामपि न तद्वर्ण्यतेऽव्यभिचारतः ॥ १०२ ॥

बोधदेव तदुत्पत्तावङ्गभावोऽस्य सम्मतः ।

तथा ह्यव्यभिचाराणां कुतश्चन निमित्ततः ॥ १०३ ॥

बोधस्यानुदये कश्चित्प्रामाण्यं नानुमन्यते ।

एकार्थं [र्था] नियतं बोधं जनयद्व्यभिचार्यपि ॥ १०४ ॥

प्रमाणमिष्यते चक्षुर्नीलाभावे सिते भवत् ।

न चापि व्यभिचारस्य साक्षात्प्रामाण्यघातिका [ता] ॥ १०५ ॥

कचिदृष्टा भ्रान्तिबोधे बाधधीरुपघातिका ।

प्रमेयत्वोर्ध्वतादीनां बोध एवावधारकः ॥ १०६ ॥

नास्मी[स्ती]ति न प्रमाणत्व[त्वं]हेत्वभावाच्च नास्यसौ ।

तद्भावाच्च प्रमाणत्वमक्षाणां व्यभिचारिणाम् ॥ १०७ ॥

न चावधारिते युक्तो द्वैविध्यात्संशयोद्भवः ।

न निश्चितेऽपि हि स्थाणावूर्ध्वत्वेन विशेरते ॥ १०८ ॥

उपच वधत इत्यतश्चैव चिरे ।

[उपपत्तिर्द्विधा तस्येत्यतश्चैव परेऽपि वा]

न चावधारणादेव तत्पीतेना [तत्त्वतोऽन] वधारणम् ॥ १०९ ॥

एवं यतस्ततो नैवं भवेद्ये[च्चे]ति सुभाषितम् ।

उत्पत्त्यैव च विज्ञानं तथात्वस्यावधारकम् ॥ ११० ॥

न चेत्तथान्यतो [प्यस्य कथं] प्रामाण्यसंभवः ।

प्रमाणत्वाप्रमाणत्वेऽव्यतिरेकविपर्ययौ ॥ १११ ॥

अनङ्ग [ङ्गे] इति मोघैव तयोरत्र विचारणा ।

अतोऽवधारयामास [णाभास] व्यभिचारात्परीक्षणम् ॥ ११२ ॥

प्रस्तुत्य नैतद्वितयमसंबन्ध [न्धं] वने गजौ [जगौ] ।

हेत्वभावे फलाभावनियमाद्य [द्या] न्ततो गते[तिम्] ॥ ११३ ॥

अभावे हेतुदोषाणां तथाख्यातिविनिश्चयः ।

हेतौ फलं न नियतं परिणामा [माणा] द्योपेक्षिणि ॥ ११४ ॥

अदृष्टेऽपि ततो हेतौ न स्फुटग्रहनिश्चयः ।

प्रत्यक्षोऽनुभवः साध्यो न ह्यतो व्य [न हेतोर्व्य] भिचारिणः ॥ ११५ ॥

विपर्ययफलाभावो हेत्वभावात्तु युज्यते ।

निरोधाद्युक्तकार्यस्य विपरीतस्य साधनात् ॥ ११६ ॥

दोषाणां नितरां दोषभावोऽभिव्यक्तिमि [मृ] च्छति ।

कार्यातिरेको जठरे वह्नौ दृष्टे च [दृश्च] भस्मके ॥ ११७ ॥

कामाद्युपप्लुते चित्ते दृष्टा [दृष्टोऽपि] स्मरणात्मनि ।

सामानाधिकरण्येन मुख्यरूपप्रतीतितः ॥ ११८ ॥

अभिन्ने का च सा [नैकफला] संवित् कं पक्षमवबाधताम् ।

शून्यं प्रकाशते चेति द्वयं विप्रतिषेधवत् ॥ ११९ ॥

भासते रूप[व]त्त्वे च शून्येनोच्येत शून्यता ।

सर्वरूपाविवेको हि शून्यमित्यभिभाष्यते ॥ १२० ॥

परैरूपाभ्युपगमे तत्र शून्यैव शून्यधीः ।

अभावो भावरूपेण भातीति यदि मन्यते ॥ १२१ ॥

अन्यथाख्यातिरेवेष्टा शून्यं तदपिचेन्मतन् ।

नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धयेत शून्यताभावरूपके ॥ १२२ ॥

अतोऽतद्देशकालं यन्मात्रं वाद्येह [यन्मात्र वाद्येव] शून्यता ।

नन्वस्ति त[य]द्यथावस्तु तथाख्यातौ न विभ्रमः ॥ १२३ ॥

न यत्रा [था] स्ति तथाख्याते [तौ] शून्यख्यातेर्न मुच्यते ।

केचिदाहुः प्रकारिभ्यः प्रकारा न चकासति ॥ १२४ ॥

विविक्तास्ते तथा भान्ति ते च सन्त इति स्थितिः ।

अन्ये तन्मानशून्यत्वं मन्वते नान्यथा भ्रमः ॥ १२५ ॥



नान्यथाधीर्वस्तुनिष्ठा वस्त्वावर्गान्विना [वस्त्वालम्बाद्विना] न सा ।

स्वयं तु वार्तिककृता समाधिरिह वर्णितः ॥ १२६ ॥

भावान्तरमभावोऽन्यो न कश्चिदनिरूपणात् ।

सत्यं येनास्ति न तथा भासने विभ्रमो मतः ॥ १२७ ॥

न यथास्ति प्रकारेण न तु तुच्छः प्रतीयते ।

मिथ्या कथमभावोऽस्य [वोऽस्य] स हि भाति तथा च सः ॥ १२८ ॥

भावान्तरमभावो हि कया चित्तु व्यपेक्षया ।

अन्यथाख्यातिपक्षे च न प्रकारान्तरं न सः ॥ १२९ ॥

अन्यथा च न तस्येति [त्र न तत्रेति] ख्यातिर्युक्ता मृषा च सा ।

प्रकारान्तरसंसर्गो नन्वसन्नेव भासते ॥ १३० ॥

संवेद्यं नान्यरूपत्वमन्यस्य तदाभा [दभावता] ।

भिन्नयोरत्र संसर्गो न कश्चिदवभासते ॥ १३१ ॥

अन्यात्मनापरख्यातिः स चाभावोऽस्य तन्मृषा ।

अभावग्राहिणी बुद्धिर्भावान्तरमुपाश्रिता ॥ १३२ ॥

तेन तस्मात्पृथक्त्वेन निरूपाख्यान [सर्वथा] ।

[अभावस्य मति] स्तत्त्वाभाव [त्र भावान्तर] निरूपणात् ॥ १३३ ॥

न बुद्ध्या भा [बुद्धिर्भा] वशून्यत्वे मृषा चेति विपश्चितः ।

न वै शशविषाणेऽपि [स्यात्] तस्य निरूपाख्यता ॥ १३४ ॥

शशंस सद्भा [शशसंसर्गि] रूपं हि विषाणे तत्र गम्यते ।

अवस्तु तच्च नो येन खुरकर्मा [र्मे] णि वीक्षितः [तम्] ॥ १३५ ॥

असंसृष्टस्य सोऽभाव इति ख्यातिर्मृषा च सा ।

अङ्गुल्यग्रे हस्तियूथमित्येषा प्रतियामका [भा मता] ॥ १३६ ॥

स्वप्नेऽप्यवर्तमानस्य ग्रहणं वर्तमानवत् ।

नाविशेषः खपुष्पाच्च स्वकाले तस्य वस्तुता [नः] ॥ १३७ ॥

तत्कालमेव हि ज्ञेयं ज्ञानमेव तु संप्रति ।  
 वर्तमानत्वमप्यत्र दृष्टमन्यत्र रूपके ॥ १३८ ॥  
 स [स्वप्ने] मृषान्यथादृष्टिः परस्परविरोधिनाम् ।  
 अत्यन्ताननुभूतत्वमस्ति तत्कारितं यतः ॥ १३९ ॥  
 न ज्ञेयं शून्यविज्ञानं स्वात्महानिप्रसङ्गतः  
 निरुपाख्यादात्मयोगादस्वातन्त्र्याच्च चेतसः ॥ १४० ॥  
 प्रमाणवन्त्यदृष्टानि कल्प्यन्ते सुबहून्यपि ।  
 संस्कारभेदहेतूनां तत्त्वं नैकान्ततः स्थितम् ॥ १४१ ॥  
 जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यत इति स्थितम् ।  
 तत्कर्मफलसंबन्धं प्रतीतिं प्रतिजानते ॥ १४२ ॥  
 तथा ह्यनादौ संसारे कर्मभेदात्स्मरन्नपि ।  
 अनन्तकृतकर्मत्वात् को विद्यात्कस्य किं फलम् ॥ १४३ ॥  
 स्वान्तस्योपप्लवः स्वप्ने स्मृतिबीजस्य बोधकः ।  
 तमादिजग [दभावाज्जाग्र]तोऽपि नोदेति स्वप्नदर्शनम् ॥ १४४ ॥  
 कामाद्युपप्लवेऽप्येवं कार्याधिक्यमुदाहृतम् ।  
 अग्राह्यमेव गृह्णाति स्वयं कल्पयति ह्ययम् ॥ १४५ ॥  
 दोषक्षतस्यमनसस्तत्कार्यं [कल्प्यते] तदा ।  
 तदध्यारो [सोऽ] पि नो गौणी तथेत्यध्यवसायतः ॥ १४६ ॥  
 ख्यात्यसन्निहितेऽशून्यं सद्भावान्तरघटितम् ।  
 प्रभासतामसत्ता तु नो शून्यं तदनात्मकम् ॥ १४७ ॥  
 न संविदानुगुण्याय ब्रूमो येना[यद]वभासते ।  
 किं तु तन्नास्ति य[त]दसत्ख्यातावे [वनिराकृतम्] ॥ १४८ ॥  
 एवं निर्वचनीया च न [ना] विद्या परिभास्यति [हास्यते] ।  
 अविद्यात्वं यतोऽन्यस्य सान्यरूपं [प] प्रकाशति[शिका] ॥ १४९ ॥

तस्या[न्यथामतिस्सेयं] तदभावे न वै मतिः[.] ।

कु[खा]ब्जादाविव काभ्रान्तिः काविद्या यत्र नो मता ॥ १५० ॥

स्वरूपेण प्रमिज्ञोय[प्रमिद्येत]नाविद्या [विद्यया यतः] ।

आत्मत्वेन [अतत्त्वेन] ग्रहस्तत्र विद्याविद्येति वर्ण्यते ॥ १५१ ॥

एव [वं च] परिशुद्धात्मख्यातेर्यत्प्रतिपक्षता ।

प्रवि व्ये मन्द फलं तेरूपस्य लोचनम् ॥ १५२ ॥

[एवं च प्रतिषिद्धात्मख्यातिर्या प्रतिपक्षिता ।

प्रविविद्येत हि फलमन्ते रूप्यस्यबाधनम् ॥]

बाधज्ञानस्य मिथ्यात्वं नान्यथा व्यवतिष्ठते ।

तेन यावद्बाधनीयं तावन्मिथ्येति युज्यते ॥ १५३ ॥

भ्रान्तिज्ञेये च बाह्यत्वं बाधकैर्न निरस्यते ।

न गम्यतेन्तर्वर्तित्वं नानिर्वाच्यतया मतिः ॥ १५४ ॥

किन्तु [न्त्व] तद्देशकालत्वं गम्यते बाह्यवस्तुनः ।

तस्मान्न बाह्य[ह्या]वस्तुत्वे [त्वं] मृषाबोधान्न बो[बा]धनात् ॥ १५५ ॥

प्रसक्तप्रतिषेधात्मा बाधोऽख्यातो[तौ] न युज्यते ।

प्रसज्जिता हि नाख्यातिरस्मत्पक्षे तु युज्यते ।

न चाग्रहनिषेधोऽयं सर्वज्ञानप्रसङ्गतः ॥ १५६ ॥

विवेकधीनिषेधोऽयं न प्रतीत्या तु गम्यते ।

न क्रमे यौगपद्ये वा विवेकमतिरीदृशी ॥ १५७ ॥

अविवेकग्रहः स्याच्चेत् सत्यं न तु विविक्तयोः ।

अग्रहे प्राप्यभावेन प्राप्तेः पूर्वं तु युज्यते ॥ १५८ ॥

स्यात्सर्वैवंविधावासा [बाधा] पश्चात्कर्मणि धर्मधीः ।

द्वयोरभावात्स्वप्ने च विवेको गम्यते त[क]योः ॥ १५९ ॥

स्मृति[त]त्वेनाविविक्ते चेत् तथा बाधा विहन्यते ।

[स्यात्सर्वैवंविधा बाधा पश्चात्कर्मणि धर्मधीः ॥] १६० ॥

तदुक्तं बाधकज्ञानात् वाचोयुक्तिरियं भवेत् ।

अर्थेऽन्यथापि सत्येष धिया कालः [धियाकारः] प्रतीयते ॥ १६१ ॥

आत्मख्यातौ सर्वमेवान्तराहुः

शून्यख्यातौ शून्यमेवेति केचित् ।

अख्यातौ नो तत्त्वमिथ्याविभागः

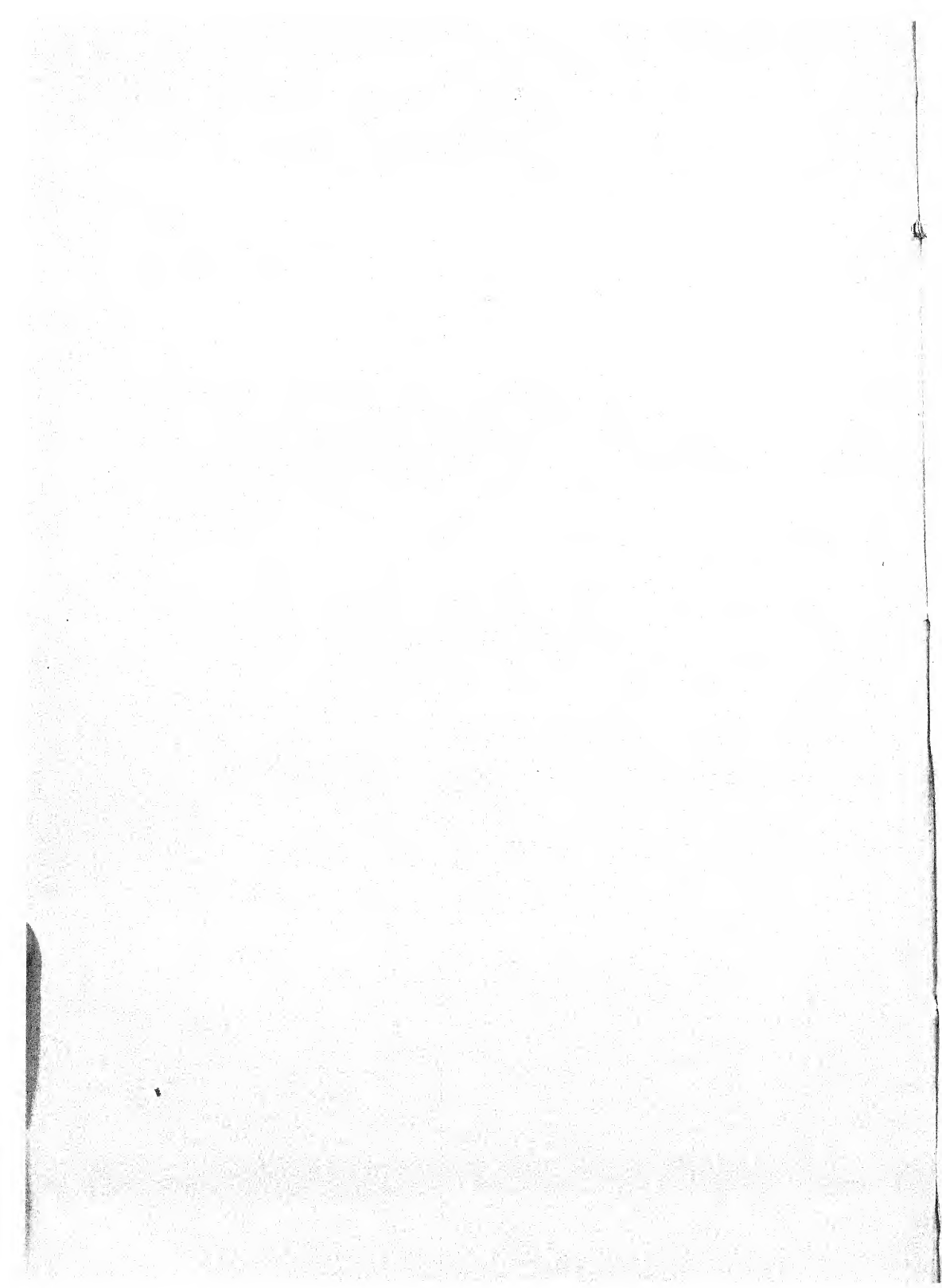
तस्मादेषां विभ्रमाणां विवेकः ॥ १६२ ॥

इत्याचार्यमण्डनस्य कृतौ

विभ्रमविवेकः

समाप्तः

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EDITED BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA M.A., D. PHIL.,  
*Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras.*



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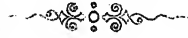
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श्रीः  
वीणावासवदत्त<sup>१</sup> नाम नाटकम् ।

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः)<sup>२</sup>



सूत्रधारः—जयति गिरिसुतास्तनावमर्दप्रविरलभस्मविराजिपीनवक्षाः ।

स्वशरद्भुतवहे हुतासुरश्रीः पितृवनरङ्गमहानटस्त्रिनेत्रः ॥

(परिक्रम्य नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य)

आर्ये ! इतस्तावत् ।

(प्रविश्य)

नटी—<sup>३</sup>अय्य ! इअं ह्वि ।

सूत्र—आर्ये ! त्वद्गीतप्रसादिते रङ्गे किञ्चिन्नाटकमारब्धुमिच्छामि ।<sup>३</sup>

नटी—<sup>२</sup>असमत्था विअ अहं अज्ज गाइदुम् ।

सूत्र—किन्तु खलु कारणम् ? (विचिन्त्य) आः ज्ञातम् । कन्याप्रदानं प्रति मामनादरं मन्यसे ।

नटी—<sup>३</sup>दिट्ठिआ दाणिं वि सुमरिदम् ।

सूत्र—आर्ये ! अलमतित्वरया । कुतः—

विवाहो जन्म मरणं यत्न येन यदा भवेत् ।

तत्र तेन तदैवैतज्जायते किल नान्यथा ॥

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१. आर्ये ! इयमस्मि ।

२. असमर्थेवाहमद्य गातुम् ।

३. दिष्ट्येदानीमपि स्मृतम् ।

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1. There is nothing in the body of the manuscript to warrant this title. This is the name by which the work is known to the owner of the ms. There was a card tagged on to the ms. with this name.

2. This is one of the so-called "Bhāsa-features"

3. Cf. Pratijñāyauṅgandharāyapa. त्वं गीतप्रसादिते रङ्गे वयमपि प्रकरणमारभामहे. The names of the author and of the work are not given.

नटी—'अलं एरिसेण उत्तरेण । सम्पत्तजोव्वणा सा दारिआ । बहुआ तं पत्थयन्तो । अणु-  
रूवेसु कुलेसु कण्णाणं विवाहो कादव्वो ।

सूत्र—यद्येवं व्रतनियमोपवासैर्भगवन्तं महेश्वरमाराध्य तदभिप्रेताय दास्यामि । कुतः—

नृपमौलितलस्थाज्ञो जिष्णुरक्षौहिणीपतिः ।

[व्रतादि]<sup>१</sup>तावत्प्रद्योतः कर्तुमारब्धवान् यथा ॥

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

स्थापना<sup>२</sup> ॥

(ततः प्रविशति शालङ्कायनो वसुवर्मा च)

शाल—वसुवर्मन् ! सर्वेष्वपत्येषु वासवदत्तां प्रत्यतिस्नेहताः महाराजस्य । कुतः—

<sup>१</sup>तामश्मकेश्वरसुतस्य सुनिश्चितोऽपि दातुं पुनः प्रबलहार्दतया निवृत्य ।

दास्यामि यद्यनुमतं भगवान् प्रदद्यात्तत्रेति शम्भुमभिराधयितुं प्रवृत्तः ॥

वसु—कथमिव तस्यामतिरेकस्नेहो<sup>३</sup> महाराजो न स्यात् । सा हि—

सौभाग्यश्रीविनयमधुरालापचातुर्यलज्जा-

लीलादीनां परमवनिताभूषणानां गुणानाम् ।

मञ्जूषेव क्षितिपवृषभे साध्विमां पालयेति

न्यस्तान्यत्र व्ययबहुलतां नेच्छता भूतधात्रा ॥

शाल—भोः कथाप्रसङ्गादविदितान्तरालमार्गाः प्रविष्टास्मश्चित्रमण्डपम् ।

(उभौ परिक्रम्य तिष्ठतः)

(प्रविश्य)

प्रतीहारी—<sup>४</sup>(सहर्षम्) अहो भट्टिणो 'इस्सिविणदस्सणप्पवुत्तपीदिप्पवाहभरिददाए-

१. अल्मीदशेनोत्तरेण । संप्राप्तयौवना सा दारिका । बहवस्तां प्रार्थयमानाः । अनुरूपेषु कुलेषु कन्यकानां विवाहः कर्तव्यः ।

२. अहो ! भर्तुः स्वप्रदर्शनप्रवृत्तप्रीतिप्रवाहभरिततया त्वरमाणाय्यहं न पारयामि शीघ्रं गन्तुम् । अहो ! अमात्य आर्यशालङ्कायनो वसुवर्मा च । भवतु । प्रियं निवेदयिष्यामि । अपि सुखमार्याणाम् । भर्तुरभिप्रेत-  
स्वप्रदर्शनेन वर्धापयन्तु ।

१. Three syllables are missing. To fit into the metre there must be ——. I suggest व्रतादि

२. This is another "Bhāsa-feature."

३. अतिस्निग्धता or स्नेहातिरेकः is more idiomatic.

४. cf. Pra. अतिलोभाद्वरगुणानामतिस्नेहाच्च वासवदत्तायां न शक्नोमि निश्चयं गन्तुम्

५. This incident is not seen in Pra.

६. स्नेहातिरेको महाराजस्य will be happy.

७. सिधिण?

तुवरन्ती वि अहं ण पारेमि सिग्वं गन्तुम् । (इति परिक्रम्य) अम्मो अमच्चो  
अय्य सालङ्कायणो वसुवम्मा अ । भोदु । पिअं णिवेदइस्सम् । (उपेल्य) सुहं  
अय्याणम् । भट्टिणो अमिप्पेदसिविणदस्सणेण वड्डावीअदु [न्तु] ।

उभौ—एवंरूपाणां प्रियाख्यानशतानां निवेदिकैव भवतु भवती ।

शाल—भवति ! कुत्र खलु वर्तते महाराजः ?

प्रती—<sup>१</sup>सुणादु अय्यो सव्वम् । णियमगिहादो णिगच्छिअ भट्टा ह्माणगिहं पविसिअ  
सोव्वण्णपदुमपीठमज्झगओ रदणसिरीससिद्धत्यकुसुमगम्भेहिं मन्तपूदविमलसीदल-  
सुरमिसलिलसम्पुण्णेहिं मङ्गलकलसेहिं ह्माइअ किदमङ्गलसोत्थिविहाणो अहदक्खो-  
मणिवसणो हुदगिहोत्तो पुव्वेइरदिसाभाए कणअभदपीठे पुव्वमुहमुपविसिअ  
अह्माणत्तसमुदीरिदेसु मङ्गलपट्टइतुङ्गेसु [य्येसु] पुरोहिदप्पमुहाणं बह्वणं रदण-  
पुण्णपाणीणं हेमासणगदाणं जहदिहं सिविणं णिवेदिअ तेहिं सव्वेहिं पसादुप्फुल्लवदणेहिं  
साह साहु सफलो त्ति पुणो पुणो पसंसिअसिविणो विसज्जिअ तं जहाणुरूवं  
हुजादिजणं अय्येण भरदरोहण सह कणअप्पासादादो ओदरइ ।

शाल—विजयाय ।

वसु—कुत्र पुनस्त्वं प्रस्थितासि ?

प्रती—<sup>२</sup>सव्वेसु देवाअदणेषु सविसेसा अज्ज पूआ कादव्वत्ति कंजुईअस्स भवरादस्स  
णिवेदेदुम् ।

शाल—साधु, युक्तमेतत् । गम्यताम् ।

प्रती—<sup>३</sup>अहं खु भट्टिणो आणात्ति अणुचिद्धिस्सम् ।

(निष्क्रान्ता)

शाल—(विलोक्य) अये ! अयं महाराजः ।

१. शृणोत्वार्थः सर्वम् । नियमगृहान्निर्गत्य भर्ता स्नानगृहं प्रविश्य सौवर्णपद्मपीठमध्यगतो रत्नशिरीष-  
सिद्धार्थकुसुमगर्भैर्भस्मपूतविमलव्रीहतलसुरमिसलिलसम्पूर्णैर्मङ्गलकलशैः स्नात्वा कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिविधानोऽहृतक्षौ-  
मनिवसनो हुताग्निहोत्रः पूर्वोत्तरदिशाभागे कनकभद्रीपिठे पूर्वमुखमुपविश्य अस्मदाज्ञप्तसमुदीरितेषु मङ्गलपट्ट-  
हस्तुङ्गेषु [तूर्येषु] पुरोहितप्रमुखाणां बहूनां रत्नपूर्णपाणीनां हेमासनगतानां यथादृष्टं स्वप्नं निवेद्य तैः सर्वैः प्रसादो-  
त्फुल्लवदनैः साधु साधु सफल इति पुनः पुनः प्रशंसितस्वप्नो विसर्ज्य तं यथानुरूपं द्विजातिगणमार्येण भरत-  
रोहकेण सह कनकप्रासादत अवतरति ।

२. सर्वेषु देवायतनेषु सविशेषाय पूजा कर्तव्येति कान्तुकीयस्य भवरातस्य निवेदयितुम् ।

३. अहं खलु भर्तुराज्ञसिन्नुष्टास्यामि ।

सितरुचिरदुकूलो निर्गतः खेलगामी नरपतिरुपवासकान्तदेहो विमानात् ।  
कनकगिरिगुहान्ताद्गन्धहस्तीव गौरः प्रचुरमदविसर्गाक्किञ्चन क्षामगात्रः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति राजा भरतरोहकश्च)

राजा—सखे भरतरोहक ! मया सुखमिति वासवदत्तां दातुमेष संश्रितो मार्गः । वरप्रदानादपि दुःखे पुनर्मामभियोजितवान् भगवान् भवः ।

भर—स्वामिन् ! शम्भोः प्रसादात्तदकृच्छ्रैव सिध्यति ।

राजा—तथास्तु ।

भर—देव ! उपवासश्रान्ततया न युक्तमिह चिरं स्थातुम् ।

(राजा आसनमारोहति)

शालङ्कायनवसुवर्माणौ—विजयतां देवः ।

शाल—अभिप्रेततमो महाराजेनाद्य स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति सकलं राजकुलं प्रीतिविशेषादस्वतन्त्रमिव ।

राजा—नन्वार्यस्तं श्रोतुकामः ?

शाल—यदि देवस्यायासो न स्यात् ।

राजा—तत्सम्प्रधारणार्थमेव नन्विहागता वयम् ।

शाल—अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि ।

राजा—यः खल्वहं यथाविधानं व्रतनियमोपवासैर्देवपूजया दिवसं नीत्वा प्राप्तायां रजन्यां निद्रावशमुपगतवानस्मि ।

शाल—ततस्ततः ।

राजा—ततः—

प्रविलम्बभुजङ्गभोगहारं शशिलेखास्मितवज्जटाकिरीटम् ।

भगवन्तमुपेतमभ्यपश्यं गिरिशं भस्मविलेपनावदातम् ॥

शाल—अहो ! दैवसिद्धिः । ततस्ततः ।

राजा—ततस्तदर्शनात्समुदीर्णहर्षस्वरिततरमुत्थाय प्रणम्य गगनतलमभ्युच्छिताञ्जलिरहमतिष्ठम् ।

शाल—ततस्ततः ।

राजा—ततस्स भगवान् सजलजलदमन्द्रस्तनितगम्भीरेण मनश्श्रुतिह्लादिना खरेणैकं श्लोकमुक्त्वान्तर्हितः । अहमपि तेन ध्वनिना प्रबुद्धः ।

शाल—किं देवस्य स्मृतिपथमपि प्राप्तः स श्लोकः?

राजा—श्रूयताम् ।

यो विक्रान्तः कुलीनो नयविनयपरः सर्वविद्याकलाज्ञो  
दाताव्याधिः कृतालो व्यसनविमुखधीर्निर्विकारो विपत्सु ।  
मृत्योर्निर्भीश्चिरायुर्मृदुरतिसुभगो दीप्तिमान्प्राज्ञमन्त्री  
कन्या नीताप्यकामं भवति सुखयशोभागिनी तादृशेन ॥

शाल—चन्द्रिकास्थितिरेवेदं संवरणम् ।

राजा—सखे भरतरोहक ! येऽस्माभिस्संबन्धकामाः को नु खलु तेषु सर्वैर्गुणैर्युक्तः ।

भरत—दूषिता इव ते सर्वे भगवता शर्वेण ।<sup>1</sup>

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—अश्मकराजसूनुः संजयो रुधिरोद्गारी पानप्रसक्तश्च । माधुरो राजा जयवर्मा  
मूर्खः । काशीपतिर्विष्णुसेनो मृगयाक्षप्रसङ्गी ।

राजा—

एभिर्गुणैर्विरचितः पुरुषोऽस्त्यवश्यं यूयं गवेषयत बुद्धिविलोचनैस्तम् ।  
तादृग्विवो भुवि न चेत्स्वयमभ्युपेत्य ब्रूयात्स्वयं<sup>2</sup> स भगवान्वृषराजकेतुः ॥

वसु—सदृशमुक्तं प्रज्ञातिशयस्य ।

भरत—मागधो राजा दर्शकः क्रूरः । अङ्गेश्वरो जवरथो विरूपः । मत्स्याधिपतिः शत-  
मन्युर्मत्सरी । सिन्धुराजः सुबाहुर्भीरुः ।

राजा—किं त्वमसि वक्तुकाम इव ?

वसु—उपलक्षित इव मया शङ्करानुमतो वरः ।

राजा—कथयतु भवान्, कथयतु ।

वसु—वासः पुनर्मां वारयति ।

राजा—मन्त्रो ननु वर्तते ।

वसु—एवं मन्ये ।

1. cf. Pr. महासेनं वर्जयित्वा नहीदानीमेते  
गुणाः क्वचिदेकस्था दृश्यन्ते ।

2. कथम् Supported by Vatsarājaprabandha  
also.



विचित्य वत्सेश्वरकल्पवृक्षादम्लानशोभं गुणरत्नपुष्पम् ।

श्लोकस्त्रगेष्वा प्रथितेव यत्नाद्रीहेमसूत्रेण महेश्वरेण ॥

शाल—सम्यगुपलक्षितं वसुवर्मणा ।

राजा—यद्यसौ सर्वगुणसम्पन्नस्तथाप्यहं नोत्सहे स्वां दुहितरं तस्मै दातुम्<sup>१</sup> ।

भरत—किन्तु खलु कारणम् ?

राजा—<sup>२</sup>स हि

कुलबलमतिरूपविक्रमश्रुतिसाचिवास्त्रविशेषगर्वतः ।

न गणयति नरेश्वरान् क्षितौ<sup>३</sup> मृगपतिपोत इव द्विपेश्वरान् ॥

भरत—यद्येवं तमिह बन्धानीय सर्वेषां मदव्याधीनां चिकित्सा कर्तव्या ।

राजा—सखे किं तच्छक्यमिव ?

भरत—देवपादानामाज्ञामात्रापेक्षिण्यो ननु सर्वाः कार्यसिद्धयः ।

शाल—येन वयं संबन्धार्थिनस्तद्वन्धने को गुणः ?

भरत—साक्षात्कृत्य वरस्य गुणागुणयोर्निश्चयः कर्तव्यः न लोकरवतः ।<sup>४</sup>

शाल—किं खराज्यस्थ एव न शक्यः परीक्षितुम् ।

भरत—आपन्नाम—

नयक्षमाधृतिमतिशौर्यविक्रमप्रवीणताश्रुतबलवीर्यसम्पदः ।

स्वबान्धवप्रणयिजनांश्च देहिनां परीक्षितुं निकषाशिलेव निर्मिता ॥

शाल—यदि तस्य तथा गृह्यमाणस्यानिष्टं किञ्चित्स्यात् ।

भरत—तत्र तस्य वरगुणहीनतापरिव्यक्तिः शत्रुवधात्स्वामिनस्तेजोवृद्धिर्दर्शकस्य च पक्षाघातः ।

शाल—परीक्ष्यमाणस्सर्वैर्गुणैरसमन्वितो भवेत्ततः किम् ?

भरत—कीर्तिविशेषो लाभश्च ।

वसु—कथं लाभः ?

1. cf. Pr. दुहितुः प्रदानकाले दुःखशीला हि मातरः। तस्माद्देवी तावदाहूयताम् In this drama, he does not consult the queen at all.

2. cf. भामह 4. 40.

3. cf. Pr. न च मम परितोषो यन्न सां वत्स-  
राजः प्रणमति गुणशाली कुञ्जरज्ञानदृप्तः ॥ and

महासेनशब्दमपि न गणयति । किं सम्बन्धमभिल-  
षति and उत्सेक्यत्येनं प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो  
वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारतो वंशः ।—दर्पयत्येनं  
दायाद्यागतो गान्धर्वो वेदः विभ्रमयत्येनं वधस्सहजं  
रूपम् । विभ्रंभयत्येनं कथमप्युत्पन्नोऽस्य पौरानुरागः ।

4. लोकमुखतः ?

भरत—स खलु गान्धर्वे हस्तिशिक्षायामस्त्रसम्पदि चैकवीर इति लोके गण्यते ।

यथाक्रमेण तत्तस्माच्छिष्यन्ते च नृपात्मजाः ।

दुष्टान् सर्वाश्च विधिवद्दमयिष्यति च द्विपान् ॥

शाल—वत्सराजभयान्ननु पाञ्चालोऽस्माननुवर्तते ?

भरत—अथकिम् ।

शाल—गृहीते तत्र भवति कौशाम्बीं प्रतिपत्स्यते सः । तद्वृद्धिरपि नोपेक्षितव्या ।

भरत—वत्सराजमोक्षभयात् द्विगुणं सर्वप्रदानैरारुणिरनुदिनमस्माकं महारजमाराधयिष्यति ।

अपि च—

अनिर्जितात्मा स्वविधेयबुद्धिः प्रचण्डदण्डो निवृत्तिप्रधानः ।

नाशो भवेत्तस्य विभूतिवृद्ध्या लतामिवृद्धयेव महीरुहस्य ॥

राजा—यदि तस्य परीक्ष्यमाणस्य लोकविख्याता गुणविभूतिरविसंवादिनी स्यात् किमस्माभिः कार्यम् ?

भरत—स नो महेश्वरानुमतो वरः ।

राजा—सञ्जयाय दास्यामीति शुल्कं प्रतिगृह्य तस्मै न दत्तवानिति नन्वस्माकमयशः ?

भरत—यथा वाच्यं दोषं [वाच्यदोषो] न भवति तथोपायं कारिष्यामः ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—स्वयमेव नेष्यति ।

राजा—ततोऽपि ननु पापकरम् ।

भरत—तथापि दैवादुपपन्नमिव दृश्यते ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—यथाप्रतिज्ञादाने त्रयो दोषाः ।

राजा—के ते ?

भरत—शम्भोरभिप्रायव्यतिक्रमः, कोशक्षयः, राजपुत्र्या दुःखभागिता च ।

राजा—कथं कोशक्षयः ?

भरत—शुल्कात् द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं वा ननु तस्मै देयम् ।

राजा—धिगतिकार्षण्यमभिहितम् ।

भरत—देव ! कार्येषु गुरुलाघवं नन्वत्र चिन्त्यते ।

राजा—ततस्ततः ।

भरत—वत्सराजः [जस्य] स्वयं प्रदाने सञ्जये प्रीतिविश्लेषो[षे]ऽपि संवादिता जातिकीर्तेश्च [जतिः कीर्तिश्च] ।<sup>१</sup>

राजा—नन्वत्रापि विद्यते कोशक्षयः ।

भरत—आरुणिरस्मत्कटाक्षसाध्यः तस्मात्स्वराज्यप्रदानादेव सत्कृतो भविष्यति ।

शाल—युक्तमभिहितं भवता ।

भरत—प्रसह्य हरणे केवलं प्रमादिताख्यातिः किमेतत्स्वयंभरम् [स्वयंप्रदानाद्वरम्] । सदोषेषु कार्येषु यदल्पदोषं तत्प्रारब्धव्यम् ।<sup>२</sup>

वसु—स्वामिन् ! तत्राप्यहं वाच्यदोषं न पश्यामि । कुतः—

नीता बलात्प्रकृतिभद्रतरा सुभद्रा यद्वासुभद्रभगिनी कपिकेतनेन ।

देवस्य तेन समभूद्वचनीयता किं तेजःप्रकाशयशसां यदुदन्तिनां वा ॥

शाल—साधु निरुक्तमभिहितं वसुवर्मणा ।

भरत—देवस्यापि स एव विधिरिष्ट इव दृश्येत ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—तद्विधिप्रधानो हि श्लोकार्थः ।<sup>३</sup>

राजा—स्यादेतत् ।

शाल—भो ! अस्ति पुनरुपायो वत्सराजं गृहीतुम् ?<sup>४</sup>

भर—आर्य विद्यते ।

शाल—कः खलु ?

भर—स किल—

बाल्ये गजोऽस्मीति नरेन्द्रमार्गे क्रीडन्सहायैः सह हर्षमतैः ।

अङ्गारकं नाम मुनिं प्रयान्तं मुहुर्मुहुः पांसुभिरभ्यषिञ्चत् ॥<sup>५</sup>

१ The passage is not at all clear. The text is very much mutilated. It may be वत्सराजस्य संप्रदाने संजयप्रीतिविश्लेषोऽपि.....

2. This may well be broken up as राजा—  
प्रसह्य हरणे केवलं प्रमादिताख्यातिः । किमेतत्स्वयं  
प्रदानाद्वरम् ।

भर—सदोषेषु कार्येषु यदल्पदोषं तत्प्रारब्धव्यम् ।

3. cf. कन्या नीताप्यकामम् ।

4. This is not a motive for capturing Udayana in Pr.

5. This is in conflict with Brhatkathā-ślokaśaṅgraha and Brhatkathāmañjarī, according to which Udayana was brought up in a hermitage.